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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE
ALCOHOL, DRUG ABUSE, AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

ORIGINAL

COMPLETED

PARTICIPANT MANUAL

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

PARTICIPANT MANUAL

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

NATIONAL DRUG ABUSE CENTER
FOR TRAINING
AND RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

National Institute on Drug Abuse
Division of Resource Development
Manpower and Training Branch
5600 Fishers Lane
Rockville, Maryland 20857

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ON DRUG ABUSE

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AND MENTAL HEALTH ADMINISTRATION

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This training program has undergone several developmental stages since 1974, when it was first offered by the New York Division of Substance Abuse Services Bureau of Training and Resource Development in New York City. Since then, the content has been revised to reflect the needs of substance abuse staff in acquiring more knowledge and skills in treating their Puerto Rican clients. The current training package reflects a synthesis of historical information about the formation of Puerto Rico, its unique relationship with the United States, and the social, cultural, and political forces which affect treatment of Puerto Rican substance abusers.

Puerto Rican History and Culture: A Short Overview represents the combined efforts and resources of many concerned individuals and institutions in their attempts to further the cause of inter-ethnic communications between the Puerto Rican minority and the society at large, specifically between the Puerto Rican substance abuser and the mental health settings.

Many individuals and institutions have contributed and made this program what it is today, particularly all the trainees who, through their participation and constant feedback, have made this course an ever-changing, living document that reflects the everyday concerns, conflicts, struggles and triumphs experienced by the Puerto Rican substance abuser and his/her counselor. Without this support or participation, the program becomes merely a compilation of articles, statistics, and historical information; trainees are the most important element . . . the human element.

Those individuals from the New York Division of Substance Abuse Services who have contributed to this program include Walter M. Higley, II. Director, Anne Hubbard, Ph.D., Deputy Director, Robert Detor, Director of Training, Gail Norman, William Cole, Lee Harrison, Instructional Developers, and Felice Schulman-Marcus, Evaluator.

We would also like to acknowledge the contributions of the Puerto Rican Tourism Development Corporation for the use of their excellent slide collection; The American Museum of Natural History and the Museo del Barrio for their contributions to the visual aspects of the course.

In addition, special thanks for the contributions and endorsement of the National Association of Puerto Rican Drug Abuse Programs (NAPRDAP), particularly Frank Espada and Omar Bordatto for their revisions and additions to the course. Also thanks to Oscar Camacho for his assistance in the development of the "Counselor's Guide to Do's and Don'ts," and to Joe Conzo for the preparation of the tape "Puerto Rican Music." In addition, a note of appreciation for the staff of the National Drug Abuse Center for Training and Resource Development, especially Beth (B.J.) Gillispie for her assistance on the final preparation and reproduction of the course.

The Puerto Rican History and Culture Course is one of the first products of its kind that has been developed within the National Manpower and Training System. One of the reasons it was selected, aside from its relevance to imporving treatment provided to Puerto Rican clients, was to offer it as one possible model for use in training other persons involved in the treatment of minorities. It is hoped that this course will inspire others to develop similar courses for other minority groups, and that this investment in similar courses felt by the Manpower Training Branch/National Institute on Drug Abuse and the National Manpower and Training System will be continued.

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

OVERALL GOALS	To help participants to . . . understand the importance of geographical, historical, cultural and racial factors in the development of the Puerto Rican nation and their impact on Puerto Ricans today, and how this relates to the experiences of Puerto Rican substance abusers. develop sensitivity to problems and issues facing Puerto Rican clients and their implications for counselor intervention and possible treatment planning.
AUDIENCE	Counselors, interviewers, administrators or others working with Puerto Rican clients in a treatment center, an early intervention setting, or substance abuse related program in the community or school system.
NUMBER OF TRAINEES	Recommended optimum training audience size is 20-25 persons per trainer.
CONTENT	Stereotypes about Puerto Ricans discusses some specific stereotypes and their origin, and their impact on our expectations of and interactions with Puerto Rican clients. Historical Background highlights aspects of the geographical features and the Indian, Spanish and African influences in the development of the Puerto Rican nation and the impact of these socio-cultural factors on Puerto Ricans today. Puerto Rican Migration to the U.S. discusses factors contributing to the migration, Puerto Rico's unique socio-political relationship to the U.S., and Puerto Rican culture in the U.S. Problems of the Puerto Rican Substance Abuser synthesizes previous learning about the cultural heritage of Puerto Ricans in an exploration of the issues, problems and factors which contribute to substance abuse among Puerto Ricans in the U.S. and the affect on their treatment. Sample Case Studies of several Puerto Rican addicts provide a framework for analyzing the socio-cultural problems involved in assessment, counselling and treatment intervention.

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ABOUT THIS MANUAL: A LETTER TO TRAINEES

ABOUT THIS MANUAL

This manual was designed for participants in the program "Puerto Rican History and Culture: A Short Overview." It provides a brief overview of the program that will be useful to you as you participate in the sessions, and it can serve as a helpful reference manual after the program. You might also wish to share this manual with others where you work as a brief overview of some of the historical and cultural factors affecting Puerto Ricans and discuss what you learned about specific problems and issues concerning Puerto Rican substance abusers.

In the following pages you will find:

- The goals and objectives of the program and of each module
- A description of each of the modules
- Training materials used during the program
- A brief summary of many of the key points discussed in the training program
- A list of references for your additional reading
- A glossary of Span-English terms that may facilitate conversation with your Puerto Rican clients.

You will need to refer to the manual during the training program, for example, to follow the transcript of the poem, "Puerto Rican Obituary" as you listen to the recording. In addition, you will need to read the case studies in Module XI in preparation for that module.

The materials in this manual as well as the articles sent to you ahead of time will make a very handy reference when the program is completed.

RATIONALE & PURPOSE

RATIONALE

Substance abuse is one of the major problems confronting the Puerto Rican people in both Puerto Rico and the United States. Although statistics are not readily available, the severity of the substance abuse problem within the Puerto Rican communities is generally acknowledged by professionals in the field of medicine, psychology, and substance abuse. This problem is compounded by the low percentage of Puerto Rican drug abusers who enter treatment, regardless of treatment modality, and the high rate of treatment non-completion. In order to better understand the causes of this phenomenon, the Puerto Rican communities both on the Island of Puerto Rico and in the United States must be studied, since the Puerto Rican substance abuser is a product of both, often having one foot on the Island and the other in the continental United States.

Clearly, the Puerto Rican substance abuser confronts the same issues and problems as the Puerto Rican people as a whole: low educational status, lack of job skills, unemployment, poverty, cultural-linguistic alienation, a general identity crisis, and racism. Added to this are the issues and problems of the substance-abusing population in general, that is, the social stigma of being an addict or ex-addict, a criminal record, poverty, and often health problems resulting from an addictive life style. This, then, creates the problem of a minority group within a minority, i.e., the Puerto Rican substance abuser.

PURPOSE

This program is intended to aid both Puerto Rican and non-Puerto Rican staff who deal with substance abusers to acquire a better understanding of and empathy for the social, cultural, historical and political forces affecting Puerto Rican substance abusers. It is also intended to aid substance abuse treatment staff evaluate their approaches to the treatment of their Puerto Rican clients.

This program is an innovative, although not unique, attempt at gathering and synthesizing current historical, cultural, clinical and therapeutic information and literature concerning the status of the Puerto Rican communities in Puerto Rico and the United States. The program is designed to:

- Describe the current status of the Puerto Rican nation on the Island and in the United States, and the relationships of these communities to the Puerto Rican substance abuser.
- Identify those problems and issues that arise in treatment as a result of the Puerto Rican substance abuser's clutural and linguistic heritage.
- Provide structured training experiences for treatment staff to improve their skills in analyzing case studies and designing and implementing effective intervention strategies for their Puerto Rican clients.
- Discuss realistic changes that can or should be implemented at the intervention level to attract, effectively treat, and rehabilitate the Puerto Rican substance abuser.

INTENDED AUDIENCE

This program is designed for both Puerto Rican - Latino, as well as non-Puerto Rican - Latino, counselors, interviewers, clinical supervisors, administrators or others working with Puerto Rican - Latino clients in a substance abuse treatment center, an early intervention setting, or substance abuse related program in the community or school system.

Although this is the primary target population, the program has applicability in such non-treatment settings as schools, social service agencies, non-substance abuse medical facilities, (i.e. hospitals, day care centers, etc.) and cultural awareness community programs.

It is recommended that the training population be ethnically and/or racially mixed to increase the exchange of culturally common denominators and differences. It is also recommended that audiences be composed of supervisory as well as treatment personnel. This will facilitate the empathy and support of the supervisors in their staffs' attempts at modification of treatment and/or intervention strategies on behalf of their Puerto Rican - Latino clients.

PROGRAM GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

GOALS

Overall Goals

The overall goals of this program are to help participants to:

- Understand the importance of geographical, historical, cultural and racial factors in the development of the Puerto Rican nation and their impact on Puerto Ricans today, and how this relates to the experience of Puerto Rican substance abusers.
- Develop sensitivity to the specific problems and issues facing Puerto Rican clients and their implications for counselor intervention.

OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

Upon completion of this program participants should be able to:

- Be critically aware of stereotypes and myths about the Puerto Rican people that may influence their treatment of Puerto Rican substance abusers.
- Discuss the geography of the Island of Puerto Rico, emphasizing its historical importance as a military outpost for the Caribbean and the Latin American regions.
- Describe the relationship of the Indian, Spanish and African heritages in the formation of the Puerto Rican nation.
- Discuss the issues of ethnic versus racial identifications of the Puerto Rican on the Island and in the United States.
- Describe the Puerto Rican migration to the United States, and its impact on employment, the Puerto Rican family, and various aspects of the Puerto Rican culture in the United States.
- Identify the critical problems evidenced in case studies of Puerto Rican clients.
- Explain the implications, ramifications and/or special difficulties of the case study situation as it relates to the Puerto Rican substance abuser.
- Prepare appropriate intervention strategies for the cases presented.

ADVANCED READING ASSIGNMENT

ADVANCED READING ASSIGNMENT

Prior to coming to this program, you were sent a packet of articles to read before the program. The articles were selected to give you a broad overview of issues in the program and to give you information which would be useful during the course of the program.

If you have not yet read the articles (or if you did not receive them prior to the training program), be sure to read them before the delivery of Modules X and XI.

ARTICLE TITLES

"The Dynamics and Treatment of the Young Drug Abuser in an Hispanic Therapeutic Community," by Herbert J. Freudenberger

"Social and Cultural Factors Related to Narcotic Use Among Puerto Ricans in New York City," by Edward Preble

"Drug Addiction is not Physiologic," by Efren E. Ramirez

"Cultural Sensitivity and the Puerto Rican Client," by Sonia Badillo Ghali

"Social Rehabilitation of Hispanic Addicts; A Cultural Gap," by John Langrod, Pedro Ruiz, Lois Alksne, and Joyce Lowinson

"Socio-Cultural Components of the Alcoholism Problem in Puerto Rico," by Carlos Aviles-Roig

MODULE DESCRIPTIONS

DAY	MODULE NAME AND DESCRIPTION	TIMING
One	I. Registration and Overview	45 minutes
	II. Stereotypes About Puerto Ricans This module encourages you to explore the stereotypes and myths you may hold or have encountered in others surrounding the Puerto Rican. A brief lecture will cover the nature and effects of stereotyping. Group discussion will be aimed at discovering the origin and "kernal of truth" of specific stereotypes and refuting misconceptions.	45 minutes
	III. Geography of Puerto Rico: The Caribbean Setting This module uses a mini-lecture, illustrated with maps of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, and a slide program to provide a colorful overview of the topographical features of the Island.	20 minutes
	IV. Indian, Spanish & African Cultures: The Formation of the Puerto Rican Nation This module uses a series of slide programs interspersed with mini-lectures to provide you with an overview of Indian, African and Spanish heritage in the development of the Puerto Rican nation.	1 hour, 10 min.
	V. The American Occupation of Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Self-Determination Continues Through lecture and group participation you will discuss the social, cultural, and economic impact of the significant historical developments during the 20th century precipitated by the American occupation of Puerto Rico.	30 minutes
	VI. The Migration to the Mainland: The Diaspora of the Puerto Rican People Through lecture and discussion you will learn about factors contributing to the migration, and Puerto Rico's unique socio-political relationship to the United States.	1 hour

DAY ONE

VII. The Employment Situation in the United States 1 hour

You will participate in a discussion of the job situation in the U.S. and factors affecting employment and low income.

VIII. The Hispanic Origins of the Puerto Rican Family and the Americanization of Puerto Rico: The Broken Family in New York 1 hour

Through lecture and discussion you will come to a clearer understanding of the culture of Puerto Ricans in the United States through discussions on the living situation, family socialization, the position of the female in Puerto Rican culture, and the Puerto Rican family in New York.

IX. The Nuyorican: Aspects of the Developing Culture in the United States 1 hour

This module is composed of the poem, "Puerto Rican Obituary" by Pedro Pietri, "Divided Nation" discussion surrounding the issue and a presentation on Nuyorican Development.

Floating: Racism in Puerto Rico & the United States variable - 15-30 min.

This module consists of a mini-lecture and discussion on the issue of racism in the United States and in Puerto Rico, their similarities and their differences.

DAY TWO

X. Specific Problems & Issues in Dealing With the Puerto Rican Substance Abuser 1 hour, 45 min.

This session involves discussion on the cultural factors that impact on Puerto Rican substance abusers. The discussion is based on the reading which you should have completed prior to coming to the program and on the material in the rest of the training program.

XI. Sample Client Case Studies & Intervention Strategies 3 1/2 hours

Through individual, and small and large group work, you will have the opportunity to apply what you have learned throughout the program to case studies of Puerto Rican clients. You will be asked to identify those factors in the client's case study which might be related to the client's

DAY
TWO

addiction and which might impact on the type(s) of intervention strategies to be used with the client. You will then be asked to identify some possible intervention strategies for use with the client, taking into consideration all that you have learned in this program.

XII. Wrap-Up, Assessment, Evaluation & Closure — 1 1/2 hours

You will have the opportunity to review the content of the program, explore unanswered questions, check your knowledge of the program, and give feedback on the program.

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MODULE I: REGISTRATION & OVERVIEW

TIME 45 minutes

PURPOSE **Purpose**

To assist program participants to come together, to socialize, and to complete the registration procedures as needed.

To give program participants an overview of the training program and to answer any questions about the training.

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MODULE II: STEREOTYPES ABOUT PUERTO RICANS

TIME 45 minutes

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to increase your awareness of how myths and stereotypes shape attitudes and to encourage you to explore your own particular attitudes about Puerto Ricans.

LEARNING OBJECTIVE

Learning Objective

By the end of the module, you will be able to:

- Describe what a stereotype is, including how it originates and establishes expectations of behavior and attitudes that can falsely guide one's perceptions of, and actions/reactions to, the stereotyped person(s).
- List at least five stereotypes or myths you have heard about Puerto Ricans.
- Discuss the possible origin or "kernal of truth" of selected stereotypes.

DISCUSSION

Discussion

Through an exercise, and lecture and discussion, you will explore the stereotypes you have commonly heard about Puerto Ricans. The participants will discuss the origin of these stereotypes and you will begin to understand the "kernal of truth" behind the stereotypes.

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MODULE III: GEOGRAPHY OF PUERTO RICO: THE CARIBBEAN SETTING

TIME 20 minutes

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to orient you to the general panorama of the Caribbean Sea and the island groups, and to the geography of Puerto Rico in particular.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

By the end of this module, you will be able to:

- Identify on a map the Caribbean Sea in relation to the Atlantic Ocean, and North, Central and South America.
- Identify the major land masses or island groups in the Caribbean.
- Locate Puerto Rico on a map of the Caribbean.
- Describe the major topographical features of the Puerto Rican island group.
- Discuss the close proximity of Puerto Rico to the United States, and to other countries, and the significance of its location.

DESCRIPTION

Description

This module uses a mini-lecture, illustrated with maps of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean, and a slide program to provide a colorful overview of the topographical features of the Island. Topics covered include:

- The Caribbean Sea
- The Islands
    - The Bahamas
    - The Greater Antilles
    - The Lesser Antilles
- Puerto Rico
    - Topography
    - Central location in the Caribbean

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for this module are:

- A map of Puerto Rico
- A summary of the key points of the slide program on the geography of Puerto Rico

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GEOGRAPHY OF PUERTO RICO

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS IN SLIDE PROGRAM

I. The Caribbean Sea

A. The Caribbean Sea is one of the largest branches of the Atlantic Ocean.

B. It stretches 1,800 miles east-west, and 900 north-south.

C. Total area: 750,000 square miles - roughly the size of Western Europe.

D. Only 1/8 of the Caribbean is dry land.

E. The island comprises a 2,500 mile arc which begins at Florida's southern tip and ends near the northeast coast of Venezuela.

F. Vast areas of clear blue water separate the archipelago from Mexico to the west and the Isthmus of Panama to the south.

II. Underwater Features

A. Composed of a very large, rocky basin, divided into three valleys that rise gradually to a submerged mountain range.

B. The exposed tops of these mountains are the islands of the Caribbean, or West Indies.

C. The Milwaukee Deep plunges 28,000 feet downwards off the north coast of Puerto Rico.

III. The Islands (The West Indies or the Antillian Isles)

A. West Indies is used as a name to distinguish them from the East Indies of India (Columbus erroneously thought that he had discovered the route to India, and so he named the area the "Indies" and the natives "Indians").

B. Divided into three main geographical groupings, as follows:

1. The Bahamas - an archipelago of 4,400 square miles, fractured into nearly 700 small islands and islets.

2. The greater Antilles - form the major land mass of the West Indies and include:

a. Cuba
b. Jamaica
c. Hispaniola (shared by Haiti and The Dominican Republic)
d. Puerto Rico

IV. The Lesser Antilles - curving southeast of Puerto Rico include:

A. The Leeward Islands (U.S. and British Virgins, Guadalupe, St. Eustatius and Saba, St. Martin, Antigua, St. Kitts Nevis Anguilla, and Montserrat).

B. The Windward Island (Martinique, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Grenadines).

C. Barbados

D. The A-B-C Duct Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao)

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MODULE III - ENDNOTES

1. Puerto Rico Map - Developed by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

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MODULE IV: INDIAN, SPANISH & AFRICAN CULTURES: THE FORMATION OF THE PUERTO RICAN NATION

TIME

1 hour, 10 minutes

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to provide an overview of the relationship of the Indian (Araucan), Spanish and African heritages in the formation of the Puerto Rican nation, its culture and ethnicity.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

By the end of this module, you will be able to:

- Identify the three major racial groups that formed the Puerto Rican nation.
- Identify their linguistic and cultural contributions to the Island.
- Identify the highlights of the 15th - 17th centuries of Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico.
- Identify the most significant events in the 19th century that led to the formation of a national Puerto Rican consciousness and the emergence of Puerto Rican nationalism.

DESCRIPTION

Description

This module uses a series of slide programs interspersed with mini-lectures to provide you with an overview of:

- The Indian cultures of the "New World" prior to arrival of the Europeans
- The flow of Indian migrations from Asia and the North American continent to South America and the Caribbean
- The contributions of three racial groups (Indian, Spanish, African) to Puerto Rican history and culture
- The main highlights of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries in Puerto Rico, including the most significant events in the 19th century, which led to the formation of a national Puerto Rican consciousness and the rise of Puerto Rican nationalism.

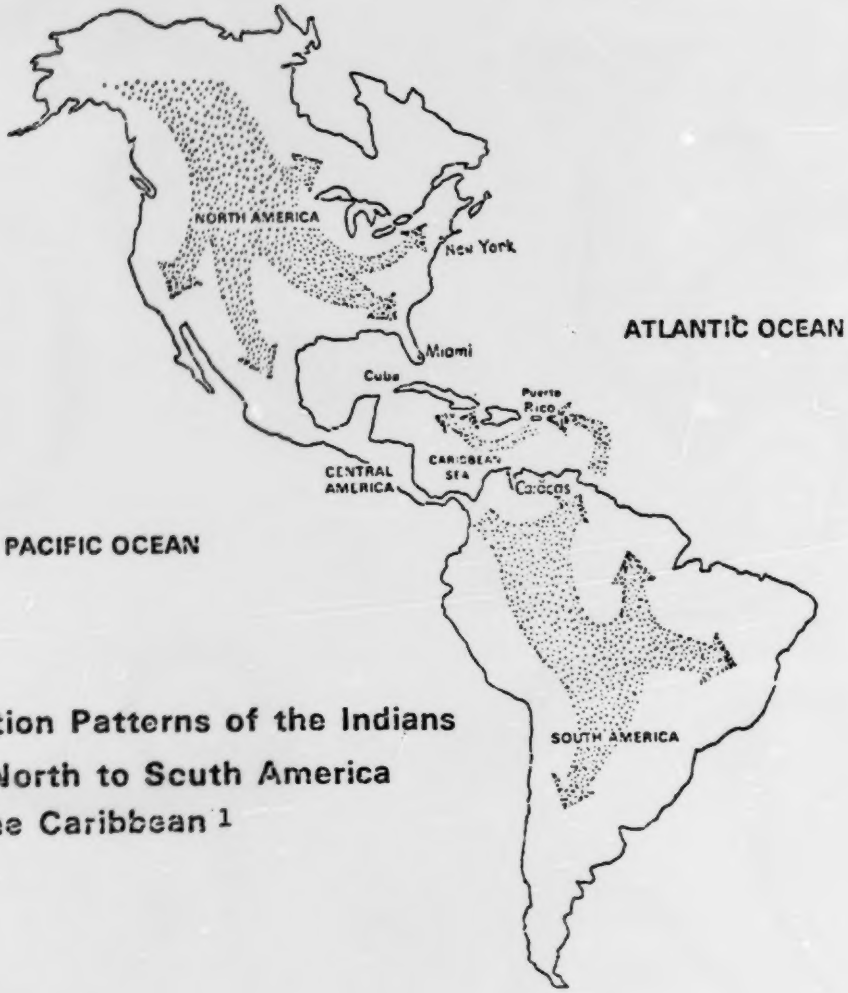
MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- Map: Migration Patterns of the Indians from North to South America and the Caribbean
- Map: The West Indies - 1500's
- Summary of Key Points in Slide Program: The Pre-Aruacan and Araucan Cultures of Puerto Rico

- Background Historical Information:
  - Who are the Puerto Ricans
  - The Indians
  - Spanish Colonization
  - The Africans
  - Formation of the Puerto Rican Nation
- Picture: El Grito de Lares Flag
- Words to the Puerto Rican National Anthem


NORTH AMERICA
New York
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Miami
Cuba
Puerto Rico
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
Caracas
PACIFIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA

Migration Patterns of the Indians from North to South America and the Caribbean[1]

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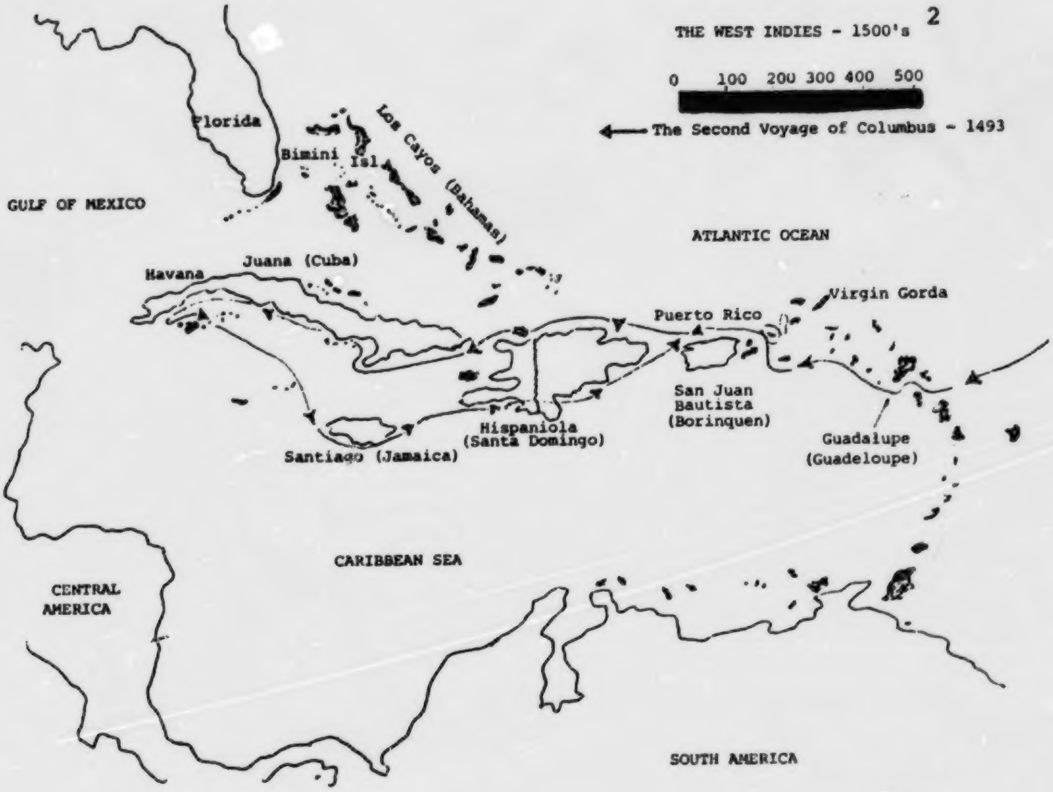
MAP OF THE WEST INDIES

This map shows the route Columbus took on his second voyage to the New World when he landed on Borinquen (Puerto Rico). You can see on this map Puerto Rico's position at the entrance of the Caribbean and its relationship to North, Central and South America.


THE WEST INDIES - 1500's
2
0 100 200 300 400 500
The Second Voyage of Columbus - 1493
Florida
Bimini
Isl.
Los Cayos (Bahamas)
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Havana
Juana (Cuba)
Virgin Gorda
Puerto Rico
San Juan Bautista (Borinquen)
Hispaniola (Santa Domingo)
Santiago (Jamaica)
Guadalupe (Guadeloupe)
CARIBBEAN SEA
CENTRAL AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA

I. WHO ARE THE PUERTO RICANS?

WHO ARE THE PUERTO RICANS

The Puerto Rican culture is the result of the fusion of three distinct heritages—the Indian, Spanish and African. The following section outlines the development of the Puerto Rican nationality.

THE INDIANS

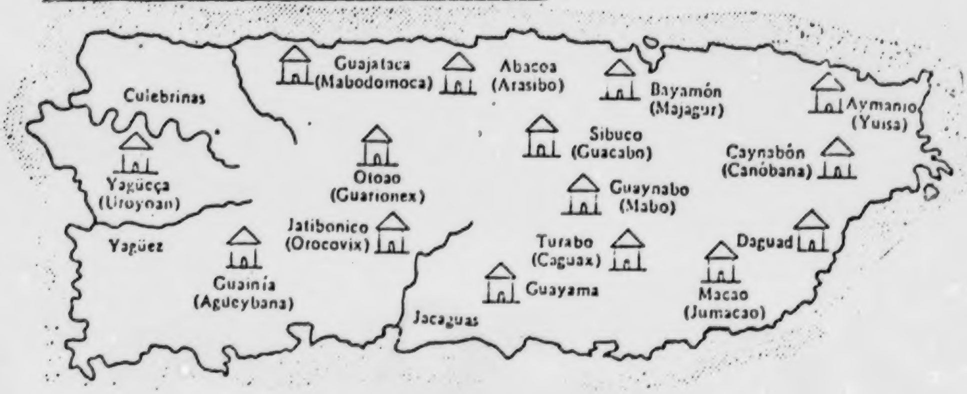
The Indians

The first inhabitants of Puerto Rico are believed to have migrated to the Caribbean by way of Florida thousands of years ago. They were fishermen known as the Archaic Indians. Hundreds of years later, the Arawak Indians came to the Caribbean area from South America. After several clashes in Puerto Rico, the Arcaics and the Arawaks fused to form the Aruacan culture. The Aruacan period is divided into two developmental stages. The early stage of development was the Igneri culture; the later stage was the Taino culture. It was the Taino Indians who were flourishing in Puerto Rico when the Spanish arrived. They called their island Borinquen (also spelled Boriken) meaning "land of the brave."

The Tainos were an agricultural people whose economy was based primarily on the cultivation of yuca from which they made a bread called casabe. They lived in tribal communal societies throughout the Island. The following map of Indian Locations identifies the major cacicatos or districts, each of which was ruled by a cacique (chief). The name of each cacique is in parentheses under the name of each cacicato.

MAP OF INDIAN LOCATIONS

LOCATION OF TAINO CACICATOS ON BORIKEN[3]



Guajataca (Mabodomoca)
Abacoa (Arasibo)
Bayamón (Majagur)
Aymanio (Yuisa)
Culebrinas
Sibuco (Guacabo)
Caynabón (Canóbana)
Yagüeça (Uroyoan)
Otoao (Guarionex)
Guaynabo (Mabo)
Jatibonico (Orocovix)
Yagüez
Turabo (Caguax)
Daguad
Guainía (Agueybana)
Guayama
Macao (Jumacao)
Jacaguas

These Indians were copper colored, with coarse, straight, black hair, high cheekbones and black, slightly oblique eyes. Although they were physically eliminated early in the history of the Spanish colonization, the contribution and influence of the Taino is still evident in the physical appearance, language (see appendix), food and music of the Puerto Rican people.

THE PRE-ARUACAN AND ARUACAN CULTURES OF PUERTO RICO:
SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS IN SLIDE PROGRAM

ASIATIC ORIGINS	The precursors of all New World Indians had their origins in the northernmost regions of what is today Manchuria and northern Siberia. These nomadic Mongolian hunters probably crossed over to Alaska via the Bering Straits about 10,000 B.C. (at that time either land-locked or ice-locked by glaciers). Over a period of 2,000 years, these nomads migrated south from the frozen Alaskan tundra to the torrid Tierra del Fuego at the Southern-most tip of South America. Spreading across the New World, the American Indians became so physiologically diversified that they are classified as modified Mongolians. They also represent diverse cultural, linguistic, and economic adaptations to geographical conditions. Thus were born the many Indian nations of the New World such as:

	Northwestern	Great Lakes	Eastern
NORTH	Blackfeet	Huron	Algonquin
	Haida	Iroquois	Mohican
	Nez Perce		Cree
	Plains	Southwestern	
	Sioux	Hopi	
	Arapajo	Pueblo	
	Apache	Yaqui	
	Cheyenne		
CENTRAL AMERICA	Mayas) Olmec) Toltec) Miztec) Aztec)	- Great Empires with highly sophisticated cultures	
SOUTH AMERICA	Inca		

ARCHAICS (PRE-ARUACAN)

ORIGINS:	Bimini Peninsula (Florida), through the Bahamas and Cubacanan (Cuba), to Quisqueya (Hispaniola) and Boriken (Puerto Rico).
CHARACTERISTICS:	Primitive lografts, no canoes; simple food gatherers & fishermen, ignorant of: agriculture, use of bow and arrow, stone cutting, and pottery making.

ARAWAKS (ARUACAN)

ORIGINS:	Brazilian Basin Via Orinoco River to northeastern South America (Venezuela), across Caribbean to Lesser Antilles and Puerto Rico.
CHARACTERISTICS:	Settled in other Greater Antilles and absorbed the Archaics. The development of the Aruacan culture specific to Puerto Rico is referred to as the Taino Culture, named for the later stage of cultural development.
EARLY STAGE:	Igneri.
LATE STAGE:	TAINOS. The Indian culture flourishing when the Spanish arrived.

THE TAINOS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS	Possessed bows and arrows. Excelled in canoe-making and navigation. Practices the art of ceramics and pottery making. Carved wood, stone, seashells, bones of fish and small mammals, and the gold found in the

rivers.

RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

Modified Mongolians with copper-colored skins, coarse, straight, black hair, high cheekbones, and black, slightly oblique eyes. They characteristically painted their naked bodies with the juice of the yuca and bija or annato seed. (Married women wore a loin cloth, or nagua, sumbolic or their status.)

THE TAINO SOCIETY

Working Division

Primitive, socialistic, agricultural society.

No private ownership of land - all land held in common by tribe.

Patriarchal society - division of labor by sex:

Males	Females
Fishing and hunting	Care and raising of children
Construction of housing units from hinea and nagua	Agricultural work in the conuco (vegetable garden)
Palms, canoe-making	Making cassabe bread from yuca
Cermaics, stone cutting, and wood carving	Spinning and weaving
War incursions vs. the Carib Indians	Making naguas and hammocks
	Collecting berries, roots, barks and herbs for cooking and medicine

The Cacicato (Village District)

20 cacicatos at time of Columbus' arrival, each ruled by a cacique, or chief.

Each cacicato was composed of villages, or yucayeques, of 300 - 600 people.

Housing: circular bohio for common workers, rectangular caney for the chiefs, priests, and warrior nobles.

Circular batey, or plaza, where all arreytos, social and religious ceremonies were held.

Arreytos were held to celebrate marriages, births, deaths, war victories, religious rites.

A game called batey, a primitive form of soccer, has its origins in this name.

THE TAINO CASTE SYSTEM

Cacique

The chief was in charge of planning and directing all the necessary activities to insure the health and security of the cacicato. The symbols of his office were a breastplate of solid gold called a guanin, and the stone chair, or dujo. Upon his death, these symbols, along with his favorite wife, were buried with him to enjoy in his afterlife. Each cacique and cacicato was independent and autonomous; but they would band together when necessary under the leadership of the cacito of Guainia on the southwestern coast. The line of descent was matriarchal. Women, under certain conditions, could ascend to the title of cacica. The Spanish recorded a female cacica in the cacicato of Yuisa in the north of the Island, and the famous and rebellious cacica of Quisqueya, Anacanoa.

Bohite

The shaman was separate but complementary to the cacique. His duties entailed the: (a) performance and recital of tribal history at the areytos; (b) religious ceremonies for the gods; (c) remedies and cures of the sick; (d) casting and removal of spells; and (e) officiating at weddings, burials and war victories.

Nitaynos

Nobles included warriors and their families. They were subdivided into: (a) mantuheris; (b) banaris; and (c) guoxeris.

Naborias

Commoners and laborers.

Slaves

A very small class in the tribe; they were taken in quasabaras or battles.

FOOD STAPLES

Yuca was the staple of the diet, from which flat, unleavened cassabe bread was made. Maiz, yautia and yams were also cultivated. Tobacco was cultivated and used as an intoxicant. This diet of root vegetables was amplified by seafood and animals such as: (a) careys and tortugas (sea and land turtles); (b) jueyes or land crabs; (c) birds; (d) lizards; (e) jutias, a rat-like rodent (called mute dogs by the Spanish); and (f) coatlis.

THE RELIGIOUS PANTHEON

The Tainos were quasi-monotheistic. Yocahu was the omnipotent creator of the universe and all that is living. Believed to be invisible, this god could not be represented in stone or wood carvings or any sort of picture, nor could he be prayed to directly. He was comprised of two complementary forces:

Yukiyu was the positive, light-bearing creative force of this entity.

Juracan was the dark force, bringer of darkness, storms and disease and death.

Atabex represented the female principle, seen as the Earth Goddess or Earth Mother, mother of all creation, similar to the Greco-Roman Venus and the Catholic Virgin Mary.

Cemis were semi-divine entities. These included dead chiefs, household gods and protectors, and messengers to the gods.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

The Spanish Colonization

Columbus landed on Borinquen on November 11, 1493. However, the actual colonization began in 1508. Originally, the Spaniards named the Island San Juan Bautista which they changed in 1521 to Puerto Rico, naming her capitol San Juan.

In the beginning, the Spaniards' principal activity was gold mining, and their need for labor resulted in the exploitation of the Indians. As the Indian population declined and gold supplies dwindled, the Spaniards sought new means to bolster the economy. Agriculture, particularly the cultivation of sugar, became the new basis of the economy which was built up by thousands of African slaves forcibly imported to Puerto Rico by the Spanish.

Because of Puerto Rico's strategic value as a relay port between Europe and the western hemisphere, the Spaniards sought to maintain the Island. To protect this port, Spain converted the Island into a military stronghold through the construction of El Morro, a fortress, begun in 1539.

With the introduction and development of coffee production in the eighteenth century, many workers, especially poor Spaniards, were attracted to the mountain areas. These mountain workers, known as jibaros, were the first peasants in Puerto Rico. The jibaros symbolizes the essence of the Puerto Rican. They have contributed a way of life, a national mentality, a variety of musical forms, and the subtleties of the spoken language to the developing Puerto Rican culture.

THE AFRICANS

The Africans

Between 1530 and 1848, members of many West African tribes were forcibly shipped to Puerto Rico in order to work on the sugar plantations. They were concentrated primarily in the coastal regions such as Loiza Aldea and Carolina. There were three types of slaves in Puerto Rico:

- The domestic slave who worked in the house in all kinds of chores,
- The field slave (esclavo de tala) who worked in the fields, and
- The day slave (esclavo de jornal) who was leased out by the day to other plantation owners for wages which were paid to the slave owner.

In 1847, Governor Juan Prim made into law the infamous "Bando Negro" (The Black Edict) which stated:

1. Any black who attached a white would be executed.
2. Any black who attacked a free black would lose his right hand.
3. Any black who insulted a white would receive five years in prison.
4. Two blacks caught fighting would receive twenty-five lashes and fifteen days in prison.
5. A black caught stealing would receive two hundred lashes and a fine.
6. A slave who rebelled could be killed immediately by his master as an example for other slaves.

Slavery was finally abolished in Puerto Rico in 1873 after 372 years. The African influence in the Puerto Rican culture is evident in all areas of life, in the language (refer to appendix), physical appearance, food, religion and music. However, it is often denied in Puerto Rican literature.

FORMATION OF THE NATION

Formation of the Puerto Rican Nation and Identity

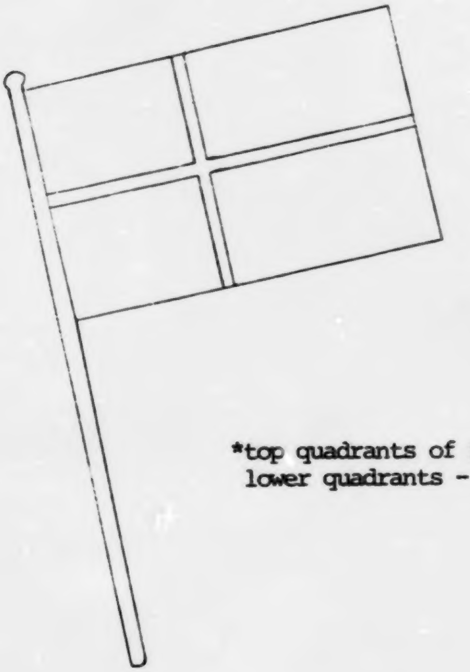
As the nineteenth century began, Puerto Rico was stirred by new currents of change. The criollos (native born Islanders) came to resent the Spanish and their inflexible system of rule. Influenced by the American, French, Haitian and Latin American revolutions, the territory, language, culture, and economic way of life, the native born Islanders began to make a distinction between themselves and the Spaniards whom they referred to as "la gente de la otra banda." Thus, the combined cultural heritage of the Indian, the African and the Spanish became the Puerto Rican.

The leader of the separatist movement was Ramon Emeterio Betances, today known as the "Father of the Puerto Rican Nation." He was born in Cabo Rojo in 1827. A graduate in medicine from the University of Paris, he was well known in the Caribbean region and in Europe and dedicated his life to freeing Puerto Rico from Spanish colonialism. A militant opponent of slavery, he organized a campaign to buy slaves in order to set them free. Because of his controversial activities, he was forced to live part of his life in exile.

The "Gritc de Lares" of September 23, 1868, is the best known uprising for independence from Spain. On this day in Lares, the Republic of Puerto Rico was declared with a constitution, a flag ("El Grito de Lares" flag), and a national anthem (La Borinquena). Although the Grito de Lares was unsuccessful in expelling the Spanish, it illustrated the widespread discontent with Spanish rule and the support for independence. (Today, the "Grito de Lares" is celebrated by Puerto Ricans both on the Island and in the United States.)

Not until 1897 did Spain Grant Puerto Rico the "Autonomous Charter" giving Puerto Rico more freedom than it ever had before.

EL GRITO DE LARES FLAG*



*top quadrants of flag - blue
lower quadrants - red

"Viva Puerto Rico Libre, Ano 1868!"

PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

These are the original nineteenth-century words by Lola Rodriguez de Tio.

La Borinquena

Despierta, Borinqueno
que han dada la senal.
Despierta de ese sueno
que es hora de luchar.

A ese llamar patriotico
no arde tu corazon
Ven te sera simpatico
el ruido del canon.

Nosotros queremos la libertad
Nuestro machete nos la dara.

Vamonos, Borinqueno
Vamonos ya,
que nos espera ansiosa
ansiosa la libertad,
la libertad, la libertad,
la libertad, la libertad.

Awaken, Borinqueno
For the signal has been given.
Awaken from this sleep,
For it is the hour of struggle.

If that patriotic call
Does not ignite your heart,
Come! You will respond
To the sound of the cannon.

We want Liberty -
Our machete will give it to us!

Let's go Borinqueno.
Let's go now,
For she awaits us eagerly,
Eargerly - Liberty!
Liberty - Liberty!
Liberty - Liberty!

MODULE IV - ENDNOTES

1. Map - Developed by the New York State Divisio of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

2. Map - Developed by the New York State Division of Substance Abuse Services, Bureau of Training and Resource Development.

3. Map - Figueroa, Loida, History of Puerto Rico. (New York: Anaya Book Company, Inc., 1974) p. 28.

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MODULE V: THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF PUERTO RICO: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION CONTINUES

TIME

30 minutes

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to explain the socio-political and economic changes in Puerto Rico after the American colonization of 1898, and to show how these changes led to the great migration in the post-World War II era.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of this module you will be able to:

- Describe briefly some of the significant developments in Puerto Rico in the 20th century, including:
    1. the growth of political parties
    2. cultural-linguistic imperialism
    3. American politico-economic domination
    4. the industrialization of Puerto Rico
    5. Operation Bootstrap

DESCRIPTION

Description

Through lecture and group participation you will discuss the social, cultural and economic impact of the significant historical developments during the 20th century precipitated by the American occupation of Puerto Rico.

Topics to be discussed include:

- The Spanish-American War
- The Treaty of Paris
- The Foraker Act of 1900
- The Growth of Political Parties
- The Jones Act of 1917
- Decade of the 30's (the re-emergence of the Puerto Rican nation)
- Political Parties and the Status Question (birth to the Nationalistic party)
- Socio-political Change (American economic-political domination)
- English vs. Spanish (cultural implications)
- The Munoz Era (industrialization of the Puerto Rican economy)
- Independence, Commonwealth, or State (a question of definitions and interpretations)

MATERIALS

Included in this manual for this module are:

- Brief background notes on:
  1. the relationship between Puerto Rico and the U.S.
  2. U.S. statement to the Puerto Rican people
  3. Industrialization of Puerto Rico
- Article from the New York Times on the economic system in Puerto Rico
- The present Puerto Rican flag

PUERTO RICO AND THE U.S.

Relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States

In April, 1898 the United States declared war on Spain when the U.S. ship "Maine," docked in Cuban water, was blown up. General Nelson Miles entered Puerto Rico on July 23, 1898 and the ensuing war with the Spanish lasted only 115 days in Puerto Rico. At the war's end, Spain signed the Treaty of Paris ceding to the U.S. the Phillipines, Guam, and Puerto Rico as territories and Cuba as a "protectorate."

From 1898 to 1900, American military governors controlled the administrative structure of the Island. In 1900, the Foraker Act was established changing the military government to a civilian one.

In 1917, President Wilson signed the Jones Act, which made all Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens. Also, as part of the Jones Act, the U.S. reserved power in matters of defense and immigration. As U.S. citizens, Puerto Ricans were obligated to serve in the military; and Puerto Ricans have served in the U.S. armed forces since World War I.

U.S. civilian governors continued to administer Puerto Rico until 1947. At that point, Governor Tugwell resigned and President Truman appointed Jesus Pinero as governor, the first Puerto Rican appointed to the post. In 1948 popular elections were held and Munoz Marin became the first elected governor of Puerto Rico on the Commonwealth (Estado Libre Asociado) platform. Commonwealth meant autonomous self government, maintaining close economic and political ties with the United States. In 1952, the status of Puerto Rico was officially changed from that of "territory" to "commonwealth." (See illustration of the present Puerto Rican flag.)

U.S. STATEMENT TO THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE

Statement from the U.S. Government to the People of Puerto Rico

The following was the first official public statement from the U.S. Government to explain its plans for Puerto Rico.

"To the Inhabitants of Puerto Rico" [1]

"In the prosecution of the war against the Kingdom of Spain, the people of the United States in the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, its military forces have come to occupy the Island of Puerto Rico. They come bearing the banner of freedom, inspired by noble purpose to seek the enemies of our country and yours, and to destroy or capture those who are in armed resistance. They bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in justice and humanity to all those living within its fold. Hence, the first effect of this occupation will be the immediate release from your former political relations, and it is hoped, a cheerful acceptance of the Government of the United States. The chief object of the American military offices will be to overthrow the armed authority of Spain and to give to the people of your beautiful Island the largest measure of liberties consistent with this military occupation. We have not come to make war against a people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed but, on the contrary, to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, to promote your prosperity, and to bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere with any existing laws and customs that are wholesome and beneficial to your people as long as they conform to the rules of military administration, of order and justice. This is not a war of devastation but one to give all within the control of its military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization."

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PUERTO RICO

In 1947, the government of Puerto Rico began the industrialization of the Island. At the time, Puerto Rico was an agricultural country with an economy centered primarily around sugar. The country suffered from high unemployment, and the government believed that industry alone could provide new employment opportunities and a solid base for economic development.

A program for economic development called "Operation Bootstrap" attracted hundreds of industrial plants to Puerto Rico by making certain benefits available to them. These benefits were tax exemption for 10-17 years, a large labor force, training programs for workers, and other facilities such as roads, buildings, etc.

As a result, the government built new roads and low cost urban housing. Electricity, water and sewage systems were extended to all parts of the Island, as was health care. Literacy improved from 69 percent to 83 percent by 1960. Yet unemployment remained a chronic problem; 12.9 percent in 1950, and 19.9 percent in 1975 (unofficially estimated as high as 40 percent). Although industrialization meant jobs for thousands of workers, the decline of the sugar industry resulted in tremendous unemployment and new industries could not absorb these workers. Consequently, thousands of Puerto Ricans emigrated from Puerto Rico to the U.S. in search of work.

The following article from the New York Times discusses in greater detail Operation Bootstrap and its goals and accomplishments as well as the economic situation in Puerto Rico today.

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PUERTO RICO SEEKS WAY OUT AS ECONOMIC WOES MOUNT[2]

by
David Vidal

The 25 years of industrial growth under "Operation Bootstrap," which some observers considered to have transformed Puerto Rico from an area of neglect into a success symbol for the developing world, have come to a close.

In the operation's place has come a period of uncertainty, economic contraction, record unemployment, and a sobering reassessment of future prospects of this commonwealth of the United States. The past, too, is coming under greater scrutiny.

"What has happened is that the vulnerability of our system has been exposed," Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon, a 39-year-old graduate of Johns Hopkins University's law school said in an interview at his La Fortaleza official residence.

An economy whose gross product zoomed almost 10 times from $755-million in 1950 to about $7-billion in fiscal year 1975--at growth rates averaging nearly ten percent over the last 15 years--moved backwards in fiscal year 1975 at a rate of minus 3.5 percent.

According to Hugh Barton, an economic consultant here, the troubles in the United States mainland's economy offer only a part of the explanation.

"In the nineteen-fifties the Government (of Puerto Rico) got the feeling that things were going so well that progress was automatic," he said. "But basically, there was no new economic thinking done after 1960. Right now, a very serious reassessment of the goals and priorities of the Puerto Rican economy is going on."

Tourism, manufacturing and construction have been the outstanding symbols of the island's modern economic rebirth. The troubles afflicting these industries indicate the depths of Puerto Rico's crisis:

- Five luxury hotels are reportedly on the verge of folding, and rooms occupancy rate in June was less than 45 percent despite the previous closing of 600 tourist hotel rooms.
- Average wages per hour in manufacturing increased from $2.31 to $2.55, in fiscal year 1975, but the number of jobs was reduced by 23,400.
- Construction permits for new projects fell almost 29 percent from last year, and employment in that industry dropped by almost 23 percent.

As a result of these and other economic difficulties, about 71 percent of the 3.3 million United States citizens on this Connecticut-sized Caribbean island depend on the Federal Food Stamp Program for survival. In the central town of Jayuya, population 14,000, the Puerto Rican Labor Department reports, the unemployment rate is a staggering 96 percent.

"There has never been anything like this before, never," said Labor Secretary Luis Silva Recio in announcing an official record joblessness level last August of 19.9 percent--about 40 percent when room is made for thousands who are not included in the statistics because they have given up looking for work.

The statistics mean that unemployment is higher than it was before Operation Bootstrap began shifting the base of the economy from agriculture to industry. In 1950, unemployment was 12.9 percent.

Puerto Ricans must import all the rice they eat and most of the meat, the shoes they walk on and much of the clothes they wear--plus 99 percent of the oil needed to keep their factories going. It is understandable, therefore, that the increased oil prices, combined with recession and inflation on the mainland, have had a disastrous effect here.

Nonetheless, while poor economic conditions on the island inspired massive emigration in the previous two decades, no similar phenomenon has occurred in this one. Instead, between 1970 and 1974, the Labor and Migration Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico says, 21,000 more Puerto Ricans returned than left.

IMPACT ON OIL CRISIS

Although the economy of Puerto Rico is closely tied to that of the mainland United States, similar events can have dissimilar impacts. The most outstanding is oil. Puerto Rico lost $500-million in its economy when prices went up because its supplies come largely from Venezuela. On the mainland, lower-priced domestic sources supply 80 percent of the oil.

The oil crisis has also meant an indefinite postponement of plans to use a $1.6-billion petro-chemical plant, built between 1966 and 1972 and foreseen as the springboard for the island's future economic development. There are indications of oil deposits off the island's deep north coastal waters, but no wells have been drilled.

Plans to develop the first superport oil rig under the United States flag, on Mona Island, 40 miles off the west coast of Puerto Rico are also stalled.

The superport would not only supply the island's petrochemical industry, but also stimulate development of additional heavy industries, such as steel and shipbuilding, by making large quantities of raw materials available at competitive prices.

The economy is already based on the processing of imported intermediary and raw materials for re-export. Industries came here in large numbers after 1950, lured by total local and Federal tax exemptions lasting from 10 to 25 years and by relatively cheap labor, two conditions viewed as ensuring particularly high profit margins.

Direct private investments by manufacturing companies, principally from the United States, amount to $4.4-billion.

The island is the largest per capita purchaser of mainland United States goods in the world. In terms of volume, it comes in sixth after industrial giants like Canada, Britain, West Germany, France and Japan.

As long as the $40-million in monthly Federal transfer payments continue in form of the food stamp program--in tandem with stopgap government measures to hold down electrical costs for the poor through a direct subsidy and to uphold price controls on basic consumer goods--the feeling here is that the majority of the people will not have to think much about the predicament their island is in.

Besides, everybody here already knows the problems Puerto Rico faces in developing the economy. A major one is the population density of some 902 persons per square mile. For the United States to have a similar level, the entire world population of more than three billion people would have to live within its borders.

Puerto Rico would rank 26th in population in comparison with the states, but fourth after California, New York, and Texas in the number of citizens who are poor.

The 1970 census found that 59.6 percent of all families here have annual incomes below the federally defined poverty level of $4,500 for an urban family of four, and $3,870 for a rural one.

The island has lovely beaches and a delightful climate, in spite of occasional storm, but is also 56 percent mountainous, making conventional or mechanized agriculture difficult.

An estimated $4-billion in low-grade copper deposits and some nickel have recently been termed worth mining, but environmental considerations have held up attempts to mine them. Beyond that, known mineral resources are scarce.

NEITHER STATE NOR NATION

This realization convinced Luis Munoz Marin, the island's first elected Governor, to lead his island to a status as neither a state nor an independent nation but something in between.

This special relationship also provided the basis of Operation Bootstrap: first attract investments, then supply the labor to the mainland industries that would provide the people's incomes.

This arrangement came to account directly or indirectly for 65 percent of all employment.

Ironically, the very success of the plan in raising the standard of living (the annual per capita income was $297 in 1950 and $1,986 in 1974--though still 40 percent of the United States average of $5,227 for that year) hindered its future possibilities.

An example is the apparel industry, Puerto Rico's largest industrial employer with about a quarter of the manufacturing labor force.

In 1968, Puerto Rico supplied 30 percent of apparel imported by the mainland. By 1972, this share shrank to 16 percent. Shipments remained at or below $370-million in this period while those from lower-wage Hong Kong, Taiwan, and South Korea increased from $313-million to $954-million.

MINIMUM WAGE BLAMED

Commonwealth leaders attributed this to an amendment to the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act of 1974 that ended the system of varying minimum wage rates with the ability-to-pay of different industries.

By January 1, 1976, the Federal minimum of $2.30 an hour is to go into effect in all industries. Minimum wages in Puerto Rico for the apparel industry from $1.44 to $2.10 an hour. In June, the average weekly wage in apparel factories promoted the Fomento, the Economic Development Administration, was $72.93. The average weekly wage in manufacturing was $96.26. Since March, Fomento has countered the adverse effect by offering new factories a 25 percent initial wage subsidy. It says it is too early to gauge results.

In fiscal year 1975, 110 Fomento-produced factories closed and 168 opened, but between them there was an employment loss of 4,400.

JOB-SEEKERS INCREASING

Profits are not as high as they once were for the industries the island needs to employ a labor force of 884,000. Even in the best years of the economic boom, unemployment hovered at chronic levels of 10 to 13 percent. And the potential labor force is expected to increase at an annual rate of 28,000 through 1985.

Fomento's new effort is to attract industries requiring more skills, as in its success in attracting pharmaceutical and electronic companies and to tap the economic recovery of Western Europe by stepping up promotion efforts there, Teodoro Moscoso Femento's administrator, said.

Governor Hernandez Colon and the secretary of the treasury, Salvador Casellas, have already hinted that trimming the size and improving the efficiency of a government bureaucracy of some 222,000 employees--double the current number of employees in manufacturing--is a prime goal. It has already been labeled Operation Production.

The failures in manufacturing have led to a mild revival in agriculture, however. In 1950, traditional crops like sugarcane, molasses, tobacco, and coffee provided 214,000 jobs, and in 1974, 53,000. But in fiscal year 1975 agricultural yields rose 8.3 percent, providing a bright spot in an otherwise somber picture.

The government also has plans for a back-to-the-land drive by redistributing thousands of acres of land to families who would till them in a type of homesteading plan.

Immense change has also struck the fiscal area. The commonwealth government can no longer rely on bond issues as heavily as it had in the past for financing development. Alfredo Salazar, executive vice president of the Puerto Rican government had been told it was "coming to the bond market with too much and too frequently."

"It is precisely in these times of crisis that people realize the importance of our Federal relationship," said Juan A. Albors, head of the finance council and secretary of state, with reference to the social safety valves such as food stamps that the island has because of the commonwealth status it has had with the United States since 1952.

But just as this status is held responsible for past successes, so the new problems highlight its limitations, and there are calls for change.

CHANGES ARE PROPOSED

Last August a committee composed of prominent Puerto Ricans and some members of the United States Congress ended two years' of meetings with a report suggesting substantial changes in the legal compact between Washington and San Juan.

The report calls for the jurisdiction over immigration, minimum wages and environmental concerns to be shifted in part to the island.

It also urges that the island be called the Free Associated State of Puerto Rico, as the Spanish translation of "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" has always held.

A new power to determine the applicability of Federal laws to Puerto Rico would also be vested in the commonwealth.

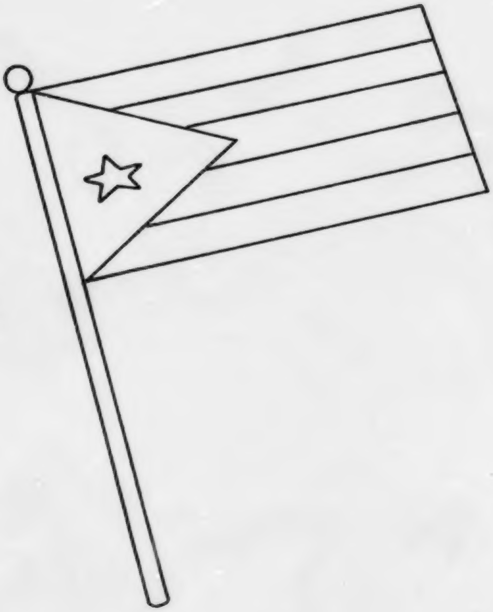
There have always been proponents of national independence or of becoming a state of the United States as the ultimate solutions to the island's problems, and they are seizing the moment to argue the greater worth of their solutions over the present status.

Senator Ruben Berrios Martinez of the Puerto Rican Independence party heads the leading group group of splintered independence movement. He proposes the establishment of a socialist democracy.

The Puerto Rican Socialist party led by Juan Mari Bras advocates the establishment of a sovereign Puerto Rico governed along Marxist-Leninist lines.

The Mayor of San Juan, Carlos Romero Barcelo, is the leading proponent of statehood with the United States. He has already sounded the theme of a likely race against the incumbent in 1976 gubernatorial elections with a book entitled Statehood is for the Poor."

TODAY'S PUERTO RICAN FLAG



The Flag of Puerto Rico

The design of the flag is three red stripes separated by two white stripes, and a single white star on a blue field. The star symbolizes Puerto Rico; the corners of the triangle, the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. The three red stripes symbolize the blood that feeds these three branches of government, and the two white stripes represent the rights of man and freedom of the individual.

MODULE V - ENDNOTES

1. U. S. War Department, Military Government of Puerto Rico from October 18, 1898, to April 30, 1900. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 1902.

2. Reprinted from the New York Times, Octover 15, 1975. By courtesy of the New York Times.

3.

MODULE VI: THE MIGRATION TO THE MAINLAND: THE DIASPORA OF THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE

TIME 1 hour

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to increase awareness of the socio-economic and political pressures behind the Puerto Rican migration to the mainland United States and, specifically, to New York City.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of this module you will be able to:

- List at least three factors leading to the migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States.
- Identify at least three socio-economic outcomes of the Puerto Rican migration to the United States as reflected in the Puerto Rican barrios of the United States.

DESCRIPTION

Description

You will participate in a lecture and discussion session covering the following areas:

- 1898-1900: The United States - Puerto Rican Connection
- 1900-1920: The Early Migrants
- The Jones Act of 1917 and the Internal Migrants in Puerto Rico
- The Growth of "El Barrio"
- Factors Affecting the Migration: The Industrialization of Puerto Rico
- The 1960's
- The Migrant Laborer

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for this module are:

- Brief background notes
- Graph: The Net Migration from Puerto Rico to the Mainland (1946-1971)
- Table of number of Puerto Ricans in New York State according to the 1970 census

HISTORY OF MIGRATION

History of Migration

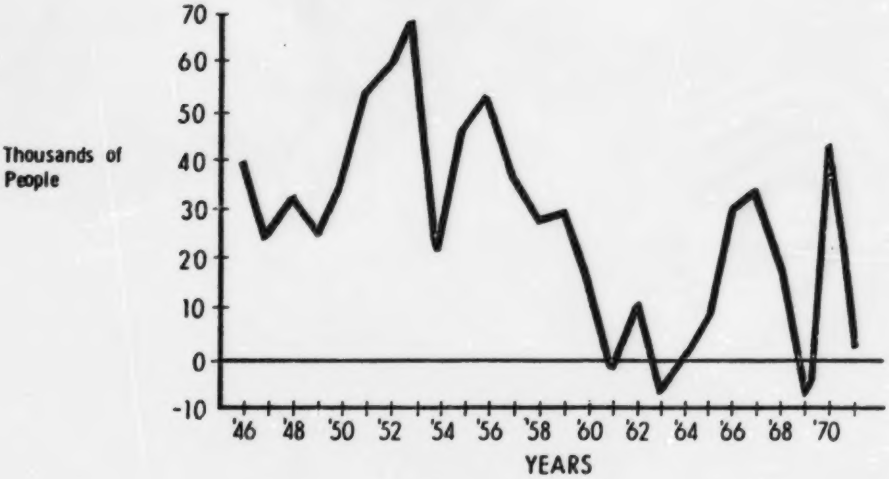
Since the 1860's, Puerto Ricans have been coming to the United States. After the failure of "El Grito de Lares," members of the criollo elite established themselves in New York City and dedicated themselves to the struggle for independence of Puerto Rico. Numerically more important, were the thousands of Puerto Ricans who migrated from Puerto Rico in search of work. In 1900, about 5,000 workers were sent to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. By 1910, there were about 1,532 Puerto Ricans living in 39 states.

The two earliest Puerto Rican "neighborhoods" in New York City were a small settlement of cigar makers on the Lower East Side and a small group of sailors and their families in the Navy Yard section of Brooklyn.

During the 1920's, there was a growing internal migration within Puerto Rico from the rural areas to the cities and from the Island to the U.S. With citizenship, Puerto Ricans were free to travel between Puerto Rico and the U.S. without delays and restrictions imposed on other immigrant groups. By 1920, there were 12,000 Puerto Ricans living throughout 44 states. At this time, a large proportion of Puerto Ricans moved into the East Harlem section of New York known as "El Barrio" which became the center of the Puerto Rican community in the U.S. The number reached 70,000 by 1940. After W.W. II, the numbers of Puerto Ricans migrating to the U.S. increased reaching its peak during the 1950's. Today there are between one and a half million to two million Puerto Ricans living in the U.S., approximately half of whom live in New York City.

The following graph depicts the fluctuation in the numbers of Puerto Ricans migrating to the mainland between 1946 and 1971, reflecting the economic situation on the Island and in the States at each point in time.

THE NET MIGRATION FROM PUERTO RICO TO THE MAINLAND
(1946-1971)[1]



Lopez and Adalberto offer these observations on the migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States.

Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States in large numbers primarily because their economic situation had become intolerable on the Island and the industrial cities of the mainland appeared to offer them jobs and a better material life. The majority of those who migrated were rural, poor unskilled and relatively young, seldom having more than a few years of elementary school education. That these Puerto Ricans were attracted to the mainland by the hope of material improvement is illustrated by the fact that at times of economic recession in the U.S. the rate of migration declined, and many Puerto Ricans already in the U.S. who were often the first to be fired during such recession returned to the Island. During the mainland recessions of 1953-58, and the early and late 1960's, the rate of migration from Puerto Rico to the mainland dropped, and the number of Puerto Ricans returning to the Island from the mainland increased.

COMMENT

The table below may be of particular interest to residents of New York State.[2] It indicates the numbers and places of residence of Puerto Ricans across the state according to 1970 U.S. census data.

Areas with Total Population 50,000+	
Albany	155
Binghamton	56
Buffalo	3,880
Levittown	541
Mt. Vernon	316
Rochester	5,456
Syracuse	757
New Rochelle	258
Niagara Falls	69
Schenectady	181
Troy	114
Utica	468
Rome	108
White Plans	343
Yonkers	2,630
New York City	811,843

Areas with 10-50,000 Total Population and 400+ Puerto Ricans	
Beacon	617
Brentwood	1,600
Central Islip	1,666
Deer Park	435
Dunkirk	678
Geneva	404
Glen Cove	589
Huntington Station	455
Lackawanna	657
Long Beach	661
Middletown	527
Newburgh	1,147
North Great River	871
Patchogue	904
Peekskill	579
Wyandanch	531

The following table indicates some major population centers of the Puerto Ricans on the U.S. mainland according to 1970 U.S. census data.

California	
San Francisco	20,500
Connecticut	
Bridgeport	20,500
Hartford	15,500
Illinois	
Chicago	120,000
Indiana	
Gary	5,500
Massachusetts	
Boston	25,000
New Jersey	
Camden	8,000
Hoboken	15,500
Jersey City	15,500
Newark	45,000
Paterson	25,500
Perth Amboy	12,500
Ohio	
Cleveland	15,000
Pennsylvania	
Philadelphia	45,000
Wisconsin	
Milwaukee	7,000

MODULE VI - ENDNOTES

1. Adapted from Lopez, Adalberto and Petra, James (eds.) Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans. (Cambridge: John Wiley and Sons, 1974, p.322).

2. Source: Wagenheim, Kal A Survey of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland in the 1970's. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975, p. 101.

MODULE VII: THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN THE U.S.

TIME 1 hour

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to inform you of the types of occupations held by Puerto Ricans and of the factors affecting employment and low income in the Puerto Rican minority.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of this module, you will be able to:

- Identify at least five factors affecting employment and low income in the Puerto Rican minority.
- Identify at least three major occupational categories held by Puerto Ricans, both male and female, from 1950-1970.

DESCRIPTION

Description

You will participate in a discussion covering the following areas:

- Factors affecting employment and low income
    1. Job market
    2. Language as a barrier
    3. Puerto Rican women and female-headed households
    4. Certification problems of professionals
    5. Lack of work experience
    6. Discrimination
    7. Jobs and income
- The 1960's employment picture and the migrant labor picture
- Jobs and income
    1. 1950's and jobs : males
    2. 1950's and jobs : females
    3. 1960's and the War on Poverty
    4. Sources of income
    5. Unemployment: a matter of definition
    6. The occupations

MATERIALS

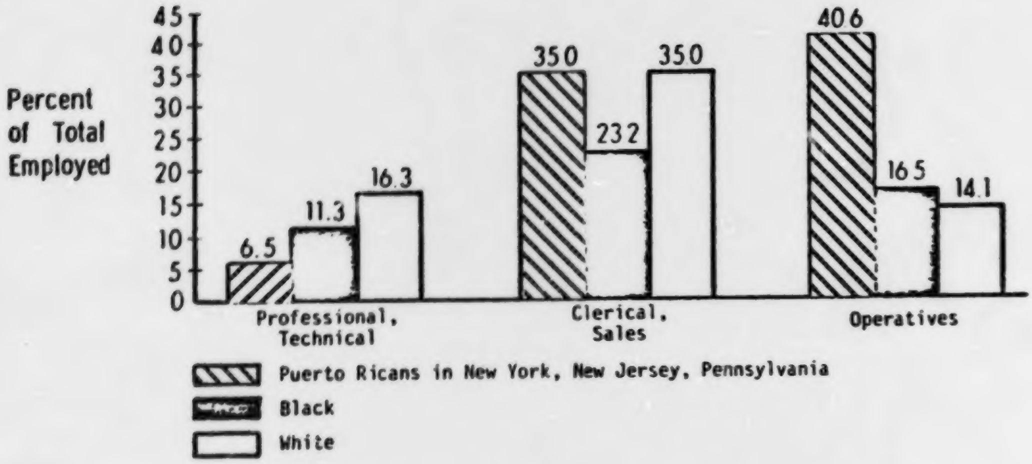
Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

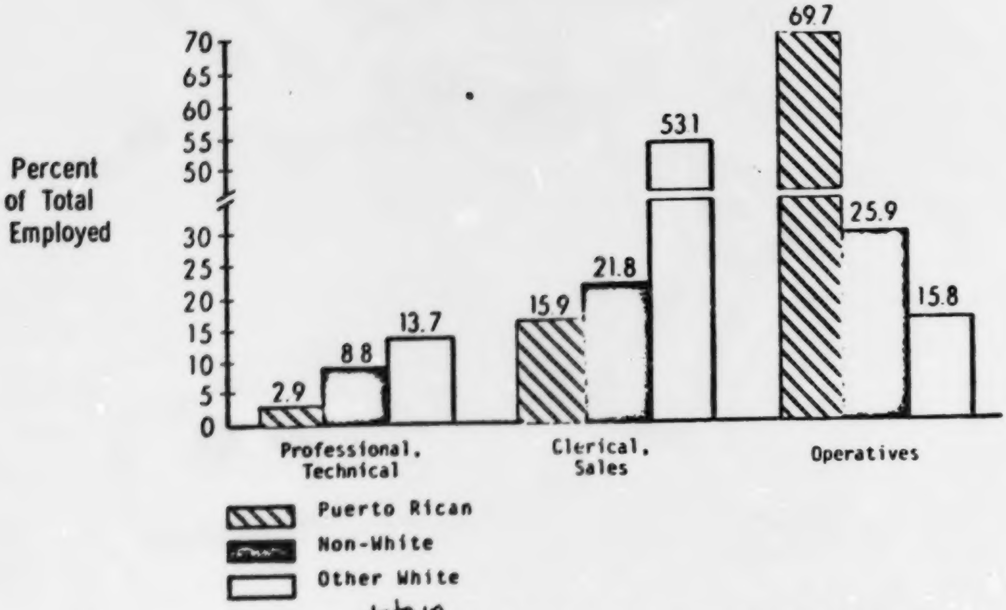
- Graphs:
    1. Occupation of Females Employed in Selected Occupations, by Race, April 1970

2. Occupational Status of Females in Selected Occupations, by Ethnic Background, New York City, 1960
3. Occupation of Males Employed in Selected Occupations, by Race, April 1970
4. Occupational Status of Males in Selected Occupations, by Ethnic background, New York City, 1960
5. Unemployment Rates for Puerto Ricans, by Sex, 1970 & 1972
6. Male Unemployment, by Ethnicity, 1950, 1960, 1972

OCCUPATION OF FEMALES EMPLOYED IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY RACE, APRIL 1970

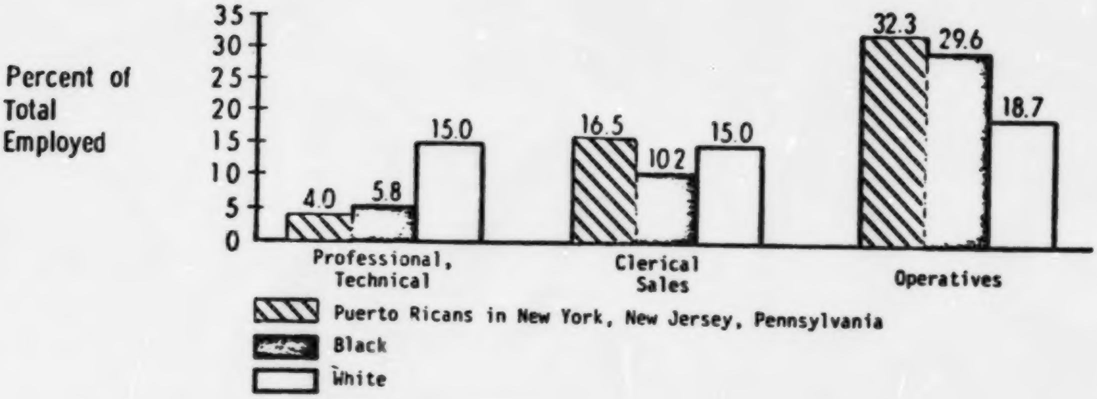


OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF FEMALES IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, NEW YORK CITY, 1960

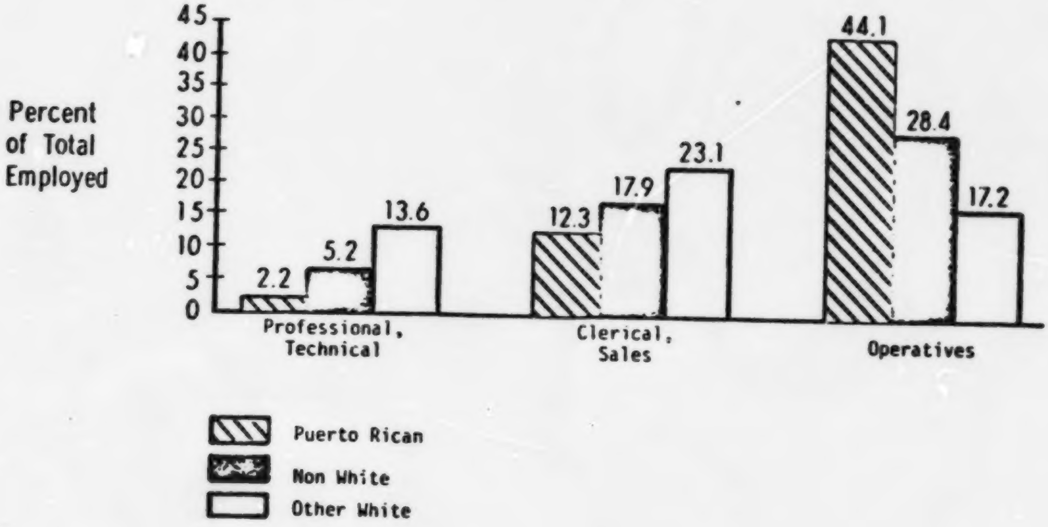


Adapted from data in *Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community*. New York: Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., 1964, p. 29.

OCCUPATION OF MALES EMPLOYED IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY RACE, APRIL 1970

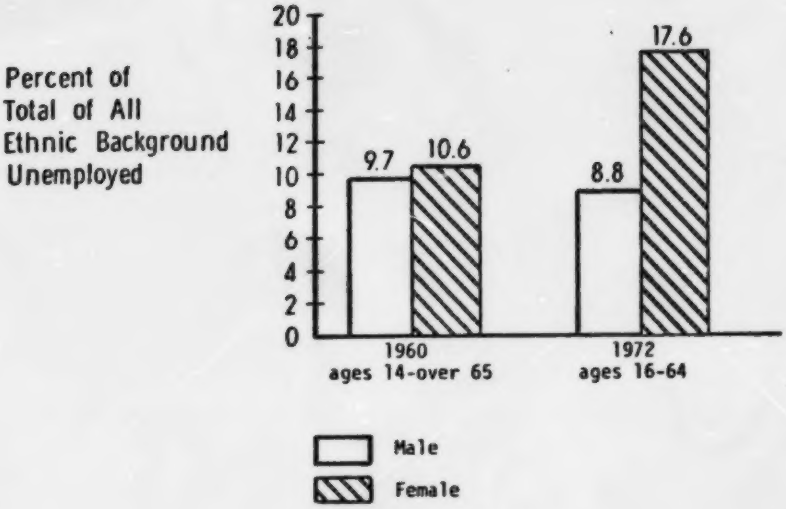


OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF MALES IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND, NEW YORK CITY, 1960

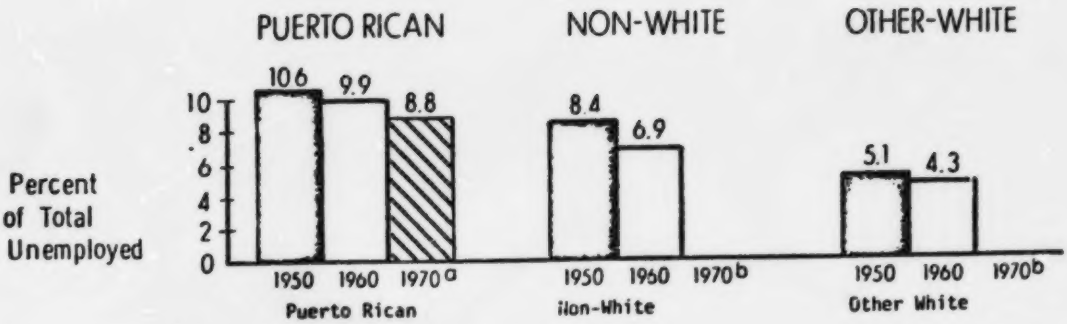


Adapted from data in Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community. New York: Puerto Rican Forum, Inc., 1964, p. 29.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR PUERTO RICANS, BY SEX, 1970 AND 1972



MALE UNEMPLOYMENT, BY ETHNICITY, 1950, 1960, 1972



a- ages 16 - 64

b- 1970 figures not available

Adapted from data in *Study of Poverty Conditions in the New York Puerto Rican Community*. New York: Puerto Rican Forum, Inc. 1964, p. 35 and Wagenheim, K. *A Survey of Puerto Ricans on the U.S. Mainland in the 1970's*. New York: Praeger, 1975, p. 91.

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MODULE VIII: THE HISPANIC ORIGINS OF THE PUERTO RICAN FAMILY AND THE AMERICANIZATION OF PUERTO RICO: THE BROKEN FAMILY IN NEW YORK

TIME 1 hour

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to give you a deeper insight into the personality dynamics involved in the Puerto Rican family in Puerto Rico and in the continental United States. An emphasis will be placed on the changing roles of men and women and their effects on the contemporary family in the United States.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of this module, you will be able to:

- Define the terms machismo and the virginity cult and discuss the status of these value systems in Puerto Rican society and their impact on the Puerto Rican family in New York City today.
- Define the concepts of the extended family and the compadrazgo system in Puerto Rican culture, and discuss their incidence in Puerto Rican life in the U.S. today.
- State some reasons behind the changing roles in the Puerto Rican family in the U.S.
- State some examples of the changing roles in the Puerto Rican family system as indicators of assimilation of Puerto Ricans into the "American way of life."

DESCRIPTION

Description

The following topics will be covered through lecture and discussion:

- Historical roots
- American imperialism vs. Hispanic traditions
- The family in New York
- Differential sex roles
  1. Machismo and the virginity cult
  2. The extended family system
- Hijos de Crianza and the Compadrazgo system
- The extended family and birth
- Position of the Puerto Rican woman
  1. In Puerto Rico
  2. In the U.S.
- The Puerto Rican family in New York
  1. Change and consequences

2. Growth of the youth gangs: 1950-1960

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- Common terminology in the extended family systems in Puerto Rico and New York City
- Definition of machismo and the virginity cult
- Notes on "Puerto Rican Culture and Traditions"
- An article on "The Modern Spirit of Santoria"

COMMON TERMINOLOGY USED IN THE EXTENDED FAMILY SYSTEMS IN PUERTO RICO AND NEW YORK CITY

Chancleta: (old slipper) A euphimistic word used to describe a newborn baby girl.

Chancletero: (old slipper maker) A man who only sires females; appelation used in a humerous way.

Macho: (male, masculine) A term applied to any activities or traits that are strictly in the domain of the male as defined by the culture, i.e., great strength, valor, the ability to ingest a great deal of liquor without showing the effects - ser muy macho - to be very masculine or display such behavior.

Señorita: (miss) A term used to apply to an unmarried girl. It subtly implies that she is a virgin.

Virgen: (virgin) A young woman who has never had sexual intercourse. Clean, unsullied naive, innocent.

Ms: There is not as yet a translation for this term in Spanish.

Señora: (Mrs.) A married woman.

Mujer: A woman

Jamona: (old maid) A term used for any woman over thirty who is not married.

Machorra: (barren one, unfit, sterile) A sterile woman. The term is used sparingly and carried a great deal of stigma for a sterile female.

Hijo de Puta: (son of a bitch, whore) Use should be avoided since most Puerto Rican New Yorkers may regard this as a personal insult against their mothers.

Concubina-Corteja: Other woman amante (concubine, lover) Terms used to describe a female who lives with married men.

Hijo de concubinato, Bastardos: (bastards, out of wedlock, love children) Used to describe the status of children born out of wedlock.

Hijo de crianzas: (foster children) Children who are part of any given family or household even though they may not have blood-ties to the family.

Compadrazgo: (coparenthood) A ritual kin relationship involving the baptisimal rites of the Catholic Church, which has quasi religious sanctions in Latino cultures. Part of the extended family system.

Compadre: (godfather) The male correspondent in the baptisimal rites.

Comadre: (godmother) The female correspondent in the baptisimal ceremony.

Ahijado: (godson) Male who is baptized.

Ahijada: (goddaughter) Female who is baptized.

Tía: (aunt)

Tío: (uncle)

Sobrino: (nephew)

Sobrina: (niece)

Primo: (cousin) Male, primo-hermano (first cousin)

Prima: (cousin) Female, prima-hermana (first cousin)

Madre: (mother) Mother with the right inflection of the voice can be used to curse your mother. Other preferable terms are: mama, papa, mami, papi viejo (male), vieja (female) The last two terms translate to old man and old woman.

Abuelo: (grandfather)

Abuela: (grandmother)

Bisabuelo: (great grandfather)

Bisabuela: (great grandmother)

Cuñado: (brother-in-law)

Cuñada: (sister-in-law)

Suegro: (father-in-law)

Suegra: (mother-in-law)

Tía politica: (aunt by marriage)

Tío politico: (uncle by marriage)

Malcriado: (badly brought up, spoiled, bratish, rude)

Mujeriego: (skirt chaser, womanizer, roue)

Solterón: (a confirmed bachelor)

Soltero: (single male)

Soltera: (single female)

Casado: (married male)

Casada: (married female)

Nena: (term applied to girl)

Bebe: (baby) term applied to both male and female newborns.

Edad del pavo: (age of the turkey) adolescence

Yerno: (son-in-law)

Yerna: (daughter-in-law)

Pariente: (anyone to whom you are very distantly related

Pegar (le) los cuernos: (to put horns on) cockholded husband; a man whose wife has betrayed him.

Cabron: (he-goat) term used to denote a man whose wife has betrayed him, but does nothing about it. Not to be used publically or said to a man, its use is considered very vulgar and cause for a fight.

Ponerle una querida: to keep a mistress

Puta: (whore, prostitute, slut, bitch) a term used to denote a prostitute.

Mujer de la calle: (woman of the streets) whore, prostitute.

Cuero: (leather) an extremely crude and vulgar expression used to denote a prostitute. Should never be used in public or mixed company.

Divorciada: (divorced female)

Divorciado: (divorced male)

Viuda: (widow)

Viudo: (widower)

Molestar: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Ultrajar: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Hacerle el daño: term used to refer to rape of a female.

Madrasta: (step mother)

Padrasto: (step father)

Don: (a term of respect used for an older male. Used with the first name only - i.e. Don Pepe)

Doña: (a term of respect used for an older female, i.e. Dona Pepa)

Señor: (mister)

Jovencito: (young man)

Jovencita: (young woman)

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MACHISMO AND THE VIRGINITY CULT

Definition of Terms

Machismo and the Virginity Cult are two of the most powerful socio-cultural value systems that define and dictate not only the proper roles of men and women but also the proper behavior between males and females.

Machismo defines the typical macho (man) as the absolute ruler and source of authority in the family system. He is the sole provider for that family and as such controls the money he earns. In turn, his wife is dependent on him for allowances for food, clothing, etc. This allowance may come every payday or whenever the male decides it is necessary. In relation to the children and his wife, he is the final arbitrator of arguments and administers discipline - he is the ultimate threat. In being the sole provider and in maintaining this family system, he is entitled to respeto (respect) from his wife, his children, and society at large, as un buen padre (a good father) and un buen esposo (a good husband).

Machismo implies that "men are of the streets" and "women are of the home." (El hombre es de la calle, la muyer es del hogar.) Thus, machismo also emphasizes sexual strength and worldly knowledge as badges of manhood. This implies that a man is entitled to sexual access to other females besides his wife. Temporing this view as a carefree Don Juan is the societal expectation that he will conduct such actions behind his wife's back and that he will maintain the household economically. He also has the perogative of man's personal freedom - to come and go as he sees fit. Machismo thus encourages and abets such behavior as gambling, drinking, cockfighting, billiards, and dominos as parts of those "rites of manhood." In addition, however, it puts an emphasis on the family "name" as a responsibility of the male to keep as clean as possible. To ensure this, an elaborate system of checks and restrictions has been set down for the behavior of females of the household, specifically, young virgins, so that the family is given respeto by the community at large.

Machismo also views men as inherently superior to women both physically and intellectually. It defines women as having an inborn weakness and being susceptable to succumbing to temptation. As such, she is in need of a male to guarantee that she is protected at all times.

The Virginity Cult, on the other hand, demands that a girl be pure and clean in mind, that she be ignorant of sexual matters and that she guard her virginity until she marry a wiser, wordly male (macho) who will teach her about her sexual duties to him. To insure this the young girl is sexually segregated at an early age (6-7 years old) from the company of boys and chaperoned throughout her courtship by a male family member or other older female.

Upon marriage, a "good girl" becomes a "good wife" by making the focus of her attention and devotion, her home. This includes being a good and clean housekeeper, providing a role model for her children of absolute virtue, and by not resisting her husband's sexual advances. She is viewed as a model mother when her children adore her (specially the boys) and she shows absolute obedience to her husband's dictates. Clearly then, these two terms (Machismo and Virginity Cult) outline a social order in which the self sacrifice of the female is contrasted with the male's freedom.

(See the end of this section for definitions of other terms in the following discussion.)

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PUERTO RICAN CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

by
Omar Bordatto
Particia Obeso

There are a variety of alternatives to which basic questions and challenges can be answered in a given culture. These answers enable a person to define his cultural beliefs and simultaneously define himself. One can assume that within a given culture, life is lived out according to commonly accepted patterns which give people a sense of unity. It is these patterns that identify the group and its unity.

In the Puerto Rican culture, the typical adult is raised in a traditional, firmly structured world which is based on respect for a supreme being, for the hierarchy in the community, and for his/her parents. There is a promise of life after death, an established order among living men, and a strong belief that each person has his/her "place" in that system. Specifically, being a man means having a keen sense of one's inner worth as an individual, exercising authority firmly over his wife and children at home, and receiving respect from people younger than oneself. It is also fidelity to deep family loyalties, and a preference of family over others, and demonstrating mastery over those types of work which are a man's responsibility. In a similar sense, being a woman means being responsible, faithful, submissive, obedient, and humble. Traditionally, the woman's role has been firmly established around the affairs of the home; she has been obligated by social custom to obey her husband and maintain a subordinate role to his desires. Most Puerto Rican women have been chastely and religiously brought up, and while they are taught to seek a man who is "serio" (serious), they are generally told that love and sex are intimate and almost unspeakable acts governed by God and man.

Keeping all this in perspective, one realizes immediately that since specific cultural values are integrated into the thinking processes of the individual from birth, it presents an even harder obstacle for Puerto Ricans to overcome in the milieu of the American culture.

Puerto Rican cultural traditions and customs fall within the following four major areas: (A) the Puerto Rican Family (B) Family Values (C) Religion and (D) Migration to the Mainland.

A. The Puerto Rican Family

Puerto Ricans firmly believe that at the heart of their culture is the family. The structure of family life is believed to have been significantly influenced by Spanish colonization, slavery, and the american influence on the economy. Of these, the Spanish colonial culture had the greatest effect on family life resulting in the following features:

1. Pre-eminence of the Family: The Puerto Rican is conscientious about his role in the family. He believes in his importance in terms of his family role.

   His world consists of a pattern of intimate personal relationships, and these basic relationships are those of his family. Everything that makes him an individual, his confidence, sense of security, and identity, are perceived in relationship to the rest of his family. For example, the dominant tendency in the Puerto Rican family is to speak Spanish. Traditionally, the husband is the head of the family and provider who is looked after by the wife. The parents have some say in the selection of spouses for their children (though the American influence has taken away a lot of this liberty). The father is respected by all, the wife is faithful, the son obedient, and the daughter virtuous.

Other examples showing the importance of family roles are in courtship, where marriage is still considered much more a union of two families than in the U.S., in the deep sense of family obligation whereby one's primary responsibilities are to family and friends, and also in the use of "names," where the individual uses two family names along with his given name.[1]

2. The "Machismo" Concept of Man: A second feature of the Puerto Rican family is the role of authority exercised by the man. To be a "macho" (a virile male)[2] is one of the dominant values inculcated into the male child and which continues to be valued in manhood. It is a trait supported by permissiveness in behavior and sometimes narrowly linked with sexual potency. It is believed that man is innately superior to woman, and he expects to exercise his authority in the family. He often feels free to make decisions without consulting his wife, and he expects to be obeyed when he gives commands. It is important to note that in contrast to the role of cooperation and companionship which women usually fulfill in American families, Puerto Rican women have a definite subordinate role (though it is in the process of being redefined because of an emerging middle class). The traditional role of women is well defined and ordinarily maintained as subordinate to the authority of the male. For example, women until recently would not make decisions regarding consulting a doctor or seeking medical treatment for the children without first obtaining her husband's permission.

   Nonetheless, it should be noted that even though Puerto Rican men hold this innate superior position over their women, women still have subtle ways of influencing their men. The influence of mother over son is particularly strong in the Puerto Rican culture.

   Another example of man's superior position is often reflected in what Americans call the "double standard." As in most cultures, there is a definite distinction between a "good" woman (one protected as a virgin until marriage and then after marriage as a wife and mother) and a "bad" woman (one available for man's enjoyment). Puerto Ricans express extreme concern over their women. Both fathers and brothers feel a strong obligation to protect them. On the other hand, a great deal of freedom is granted the males. It is expected, and often encouraged, for a boy to have sexual experiences with women before marriage. A boy is raised and encouraged "to be a man" and to venture out, while a girl is sheltered progressively within the family as she matures.

3. Compadrazgo: Another influence implanted by the Spanish colonizers is the institution of "compadres." [3] These are people who are companion parents with the natural parents of the child (godparents). The man is the "compadre" and the woman is the "comadre." Compadres are often relatives of the child. They constitute a network of ritual kinship and can be sponsors for baptism, confirmation, or marriage. There are occasions when intense friendships lead men and women to consider themselves compadres or comadres. Generally, they have a deep sense of obligation to each other for economic assistance, support, and encouragement.

   Just as Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico influenced the Puerto Rican family as it is today, so did slavery and the U.S. role in the economic development of Puerto Rico. Slavery, as in any other culture, had a devastating effect on family life. The instability and the impermanence of the slave family which was bought, sold, and exchanged with no regard for the permanent family union, created many broken families. Spanish colonial tradition did provide some advantages to women and the resultant children of extramarital relationships, since Spaniards felt "morally bound" to the responsibility of caring and providing for those they consorted with.

   Though overall, the U.S. considers itself instrumental in helping Puerto Rico attain its freedom from colonial rule and achieve its autonomy, the influence of the United

States on the island's cultural development has had some negative effects. For example, the educational system was controlled by Americans after the annexation, and modeled after the American system. The educational system was not surrendered to the Puerto Rican government until 1948. During these years, Puerto Rican children were subjected to teachers who knew little or no Spanish, and who for the most part had a total disregard for the traditional Puerto Rican culture. Equally glaring in its effect was the religious influence from the mainland. Although Catholicism was deeply rooted in the Spanish tradition on the island, American Catholic personnel, Protestant denominations, and Pentecostal sects implanted a strong American influence on the religious life. This, coupled with Puerto Ricans returning from the mainland with strong influences of mainland culture, negatively affected the family relationship.

A final note about the Puerto Rican family. It is important to point out that in Puerto Rico, unlike the continental United States, no family is alone. Each is widely extended and each supports its various members. The following four types are commonly thought of within the overall structure:

1. The "extended" family: those families with strong bonds and frequent interaction among a wide range of natural or ritual kin. Grandparents, parents, and children may live in the same household, or they may have separate households, but visit often. (This type is the most obvious source of strength and support.)

2. The "nuclear" family: the conjugal unit of father, mother, and children, not living close to relatives and with weak bonds to the extended family. (In response to social and economic development, their numbers are increasing.)

3. The "combined" family of other unions: among Puerto Ricans, combinations of father, mother, their children and the children of another union or unions of husband or wife is a common phenomenon. One may know of many children with different names living in one household. The siblings consider themselves just as related by marriage as if by blood.

4. The "mother-based" family: this type, mentioned previously, occurs when the mother has had children by one or more men, but does not have a permanent male consort in the home, or has several children by one spouse and is divorced.

B. Family Values -- Aspects, Influences, and Meanings

There are so-called "official" values that have long been attributed to Puerto Rican society, and they include: a strong emphasis upon respect and dignity, a fatalistic outlook, an assumption of male superiority, and a humanistic view of the world. It is said that some of the consequences of these values have resulted in Puerto Ricans having a tendency towards being individualistic, easy-going in social affairs, hospitable, loving and tolerant of children, and willing to break small rules in order to do favors for sentimental reasons. Some aspects of these values which make up Puerto Rican family life and that have influenced their development have already been mentioned. Because of the broad range, only the outstanding values will be discussed.

1. Personalismo: This is the basic value of Puerto Rican culture. It is the belief in the innate worth and uniqueness of each person, and is a form of individualism which focuses on the inner importance of the person and his goodness or worth of himself. It is the value that allows each Puerto Rican to feel "dignidad" (inner dignity).

> In a two class society where little mobility was possible, a man was born into his social and economic position...he defined his value in terms of the qualities and behavior that made a man good or respected in the social position where he found himself.[4]

There are different aspects of "personalismo" and one readily allows a Puerto Rican to trust his destiny to the judgment of some other strong-willed "father figure" who is more charismatic than he. This aspect allows a man to demand obedience from one's inferiors but also permits the "master" to obey his superiors. This creates a tendency to rely heavily on persons in authority as well as faith in person-to-person contact.

Puerto Ricans agree that there is no substitute for a face-to-face meeting.

2. Respeto: A man, or for that matter any person within the Puerto Rican society, is thought to be worthy of "respeto" (respect), but the element of "respeto" which is usually communicated in a very subtle way, concerns the person's basic right to a self. Using this universal ritual idiom, all Puerto Ricans may make statements to each other concerning their ceremonial and moral worth as social persons. Although at times, representatives of different segments of society converge upon one another, the elements of "respeto" and its associated ceremonial order is one of the number of ways which allow Puerto Ricans to "tune in" upon a common network. In Puerto Rico, men treat each other with more formality than one finds in the U.S. Any "falta de respeto" (lack of respect) towards another violates his dignity. Perhaps due to the values of respect and dignity, Puerto Ricans are a sensitive people, who avoid direct confrontations if someone's feelings may be injured.

3. Humanismo: Humanism is another trait linked with Puerto Rico's roots. In Latin America, nations have been led by either strong armed military caudillos (the macho) or eminent intellectuals (the humanist). Puerto Rico has traditionally prized the man who combines "dash" with "intellect."

4. Sentimentalismo: Puerto Ricans possess a sentimental quality which is strong and visible. This does not mean that Puerto Rico is a paradise of soft-hearted saints, but there is a sentimentality that ameliorates personal conflicts and makes many small favors possible.

5. A Sense of the Spiritual: The Puerto Rican generally has a spiritual sense, and believes that the soul is more important than the body. He tends to think of life in terms of ultimate values and spiritual goals, and expresses a willingness to sacrifice material satisfactions for them.

6. Fatalism: Associated with the spiritual value is the deep sense of fatalism. It is a belief that life is controlled by supernatural forces, that one should be resigned to misfortune, and that one should rejoice to good fortune. This quality leads to the acceptance of many events considered inevitable, and softens the personal guilt of failure.

7. Sense of Hierarchy: The Puerto Rican has always accepted the concept of a hierarchical society. Part of this is a result of the two-class system where its members never conceived of a world in which they could move out of the position from which they were born. The hierarchical concept contributed to the belief that a person's worth was distinct from a person's position in the social structure.

C. Religion

Religion has played a focal role in Puerto Rican culture and has affected the experience of immigrants who have come to the United States. There are three religious ideologies that have come to the United States. There are three religious ideologies that have influenced most Puerto Ricans: Catholicism, Protestantism, and Spiritualism.

1. Catholicism: Like all of the Spanish empire, "Roman Catholicism" was brought to the island with the conquest. To a Spaniard, the Catholic faith was the one true faith, the most important thing for which a man should live or die, and the most important gift he could give to another. The conquistadors were as determined to pass their religion on to the indigenous people of Borinquen just as they were to colonize the island and incorporate the Spanish language into their lives.

   Being a Catholic in the Latin American sense is different from being Catholic in the United States. In the U.S., being Catholic is a personal choice or commitment, but Latins believe there is a sense of identity based on their religion because it is part of the community of which they are part. Two important observations need to be made about the style of Catholicism found in Puerto Rico. First, Puerto Ricans perceive of their religious life in the same sense as they do their family: that it consists of close, intimate and personal relationships. In this instance though, the relationships are with the saints, the Blessed Virgin, and various manifestations of the Lord. They pray to them, light candles to them, build shrines in their homes to them, and they expect favors and protection from them in return. But this personal relationship with the saints often takes place outside the organized structure of the Church. Catholicism penetrates their lives. Even if there were no organized Church to attend, the relationship more than likely would continue.

Secondly, Catholicism and the Spanish culture were never completely absorbed by all the natives of Borinquen. Many of the indigenous peoples retained remnants of their "pre-Discovery" religious rites. In addition, African rites brought by the slaves during the early Colonial years were intermingled with some of the folk practices of the Catholics. As a result, there are practices within the culture that have un-Catholic elements of worship, but are simply considered another variety of devotion (e.g., spiritualism, mitas, and santerismo).

It is important to note that after the annexation of Puerto Rico to the United States in 1898, the steady increase of American priests and religious personnel became noticeable. The effort resulted in the establishment of a Puerto Rican Catholic Church that had a definite American character. There was no longer great emphasis on the sacraments, and the development of Catholic schools based on the American model occurred -- characteristics of the "folk religion" were obliterated, while the religious personnel, who spoke little or no Spanish, neglected the Spanish cultural traditions.

2. Protestantism: In 1898, Protestants came along with the influx of American Catholic religious personnel. Originally, the different Protestant groups agreed among themselves to avoid competition in their efforts. They proceeded to divide the island into territories, each one assigned to a particular Protestant denomination. However, when the Pentecostal sects arrived and began evangelizing, they disregarded the original agreement, and consequently penetrated all parts of the island. It seems that because of the economic changes of the island which occurred with its industrialization, a social and psychological vacuum was created in many poor Puerto Rican families. The Pentecostal congregation compensated for the loss of the traditional style of life through its ideology, and reinforced traditional moral and cultural values.

3. Spiritualism: Another aspect of religious life in Puerto Rico is the interest in spiritualism. Spiritualism is the belief that the visible world is surrounded and influenced by an invisible world which is populated by spirits. The practice is based on the belief that man can establish contact with the spirit world and use the power to influence the spirits either to the detriment of another or through a favorable action. The beliefs and practices of spiritualism are distributed throughout the society and are most often interwoven with social life to dispel tensions and anxieties.

   The "espiritista" (the spiritualist, who most often is a woman) has a wide knowledge of folk practices in medicine. She recommends herbs, potions, and folk remedies for all kinds of physical and mental illnesses. Almost every Puerto Rican barrio has a "botanica," a store which sells herbs, potions, prayers, and other devices recommended by the "espiritista." The spiritualist is often the substitute for the doctor, and has the complete confidence of her clients since what she recommends is familiar, simple, and traditional. It has been suggested that spiritualists serve as psychiatrists and that spiritualism functions as an outlet for mental illness. What a psychiatrist might diagnose as mental illness is need of institutional care, a spiritualist defines as suffering from evil spirits. In this way, with the spiritualist's help, the individual can cope with the spirits that are troubling him and remain undisturbed and functional within his own community.

THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON CULTURE

The migration of Puerto Ricans from the island to the U.S. mainland is unique. It is such for a variety of reasons, but for our purposes here, it is unique because of the effect it has had on its traditions, customs, and values. The focus on this report centers upon the identity of Puerto Ricans as a group. It is this identity first molded by 400 years of Spanish colonization and then by almost 80 years of American annexation that has been most affected. Although we have shown that the Puerto Rican culture is deeply rooted in the Spanish tradition, it has been extremely affected by American standards since the turn of the century.

A number of factors contributed to migration, including population increase, economic pressure, accessible transportation, and the fact that there is no legal or political restriction on migration. For whatever reasons, their institutions have undergone a great deal of change due to the migration to the mainland. What has suffered the most from Puerto Rican migration has been the family.

Puerto Ricans are from a warm, friendly island. Family and neighbors are important to them. In the cities, they have sometimes found people to be cold and alien. They were misunderstood because of their language and customs, and they were discriminated against. The smallness of island cities nourishes the individual and keeps him from being anonymous. The lack of anonymity has tended to reinforce traditional customs and conventions. The mass migration of Puerto Ricans to U.S. cities, where they live in slums and housing projects, has caused serious social problems for them.

It has long been recognized that Puerto Ricans migrate as nuclear families. When family members moved to the mainland urban centers, the destruction of the "extended" family concept began to take effect due to distance between them. The supporting network upon which the family could always rely began to weaken.

Another serious shift in family life occurred in the traditional roles of husband and wife. Because men were either not qualified for available jobs on the mainland or simply were unable to find employment, Puerto Rican women frequently found a larger and easier marketplace for their domestic skills. Even more disturbing to some men, was the fact that women often earned higher wages than they did. The women in many families, some for the first time, were able to supplement the family income until their men could be gainfully employed or maintain an economic independence. Having their wives support them and their families was more than some Puerto Rican men could accept. As a result, many men left their families in disgrace. It was obvious that the impact of American culture on the traditional roles was devastating, and the dignity and pride of the men was even further threatened by the new role of Puerto Rican women in this country.

Additional family problems plagued the Puerto Rican migrants. Since they came from a country where children were expected to respect and obey their parents without question, Puerto Rican adults living on the mainland found it difficult to accept parental permissiveness towards their children in the mainland society. American children were taught to be self-reliant, aggressive, and competitive, while the Puerto Rican child was more submissive. The gravest problem of control became giving unmarried girls the same kind of protection they would have given them in Puerto Rico. To allow a daughter to go out unprotected, for any reason, was something the men in the family considered immoral. The tensions created between parents and children were extremely difficult to manage. The parents tried to teach Puerto Rican culture in their homes, but Puerto Rican children were being brought up in American schools and were enjoying their new found freedom. They rebelled against the old-world attitudes of their parents.

It was against this backdrop that drug addiction became one of the major problems affecting inner city Puerto Rican families. As the disintegration of traditional values and customs began to take place, the increased use of narcotics became more apparent. The Puerto Rican family was in no way prepared to face what seemed like insurmountable economic, vocational, educational, and linguistic pressures. As a solution to escape the accompanying social and psychological problems, many Puerto Ricans joined the ranks of drug users.

Although drug addiction is a major problem in the Puerto Rican community, reliable statistics as to their exact numbers are not readily available. Until recently, standardized formats were not used in collection data systems and, consequently, the number of Puerto Rican users were being merged into the Black, White, and Hispanic groupings.

Drug literature on Puerto Ricans is scant, however, some of those articles attempting to identify and examine causes of drug usage and possible solutions for its treatment are included in the Advanced Reading Assignments.

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THE MODERN SPIRIT OF SANTERIA

by
Luis Zalamea

This is a reprint of an article that appeared in "Nuestro" Magazine, a national magazine for Latinos, in March 1978. The article was written by Luis Zalamea who is a Colombian-born writer that specialized in travel. He has also had a novel published in English and four books published in Spanish.

Perhaps it was the bountiful nature of a sunny, yet crisp, February morning in Florida, or the frozen daiquiris we shared at a small bar in the heart of Little Havana's Eighth Street. But a strange bond of comradeship began to develop between myself and this troubled Cuban businessman whose first name was Hector. As the branch director of a construction company at a time when that industry was hurting in South Florida, Hector was being browbeaten by his board of directors to the brink of resignation. So he had finally agreed to take his wife's advice and turn to the mystical religion of santeria for help. He had already followed a few preliminary instructions from the santera, or priestess. Now he was about to meet with her to proceed with his own exorcism.

Exorcism made its way from Roman Catholicism into the santeria ritual long before William Blatty wrote The Exorcist. Indeed the interest in the occult that is growing in the U.S. is something that is taken thoroughly for granted among thousands of Latinos. Far from being a fading vestige of the past, santeria - like such distantly related practices as curanderismo - is getting more and more popular. And the values expressed through mysticism are being taken increasingly seriously by the practitioners of such "cooler" sciences as medicine and psychology. Despite all this history and growth, I was largely ignorant of the details of this mystical religion all around me.

So when a friend offered to introduce me to Hector, I accepted. Now as his 3 p.m. appointment with the santera grew near, he admitted he was apprehensive and asked me to come along. I had heard that santeria, unlike Haitian voo-doo, accepts the curious with no distinction from the faithful. Reassured on this point by my newfound friend, I agreed to go.

The temple was a handsome ranch-type residence in one of the quietest streets of southwest Miami, distinguished from neighboring homes only by a discreet gold star over the carport. The whole place, especially the inner rooms, had a strange and peaceful coolness which contrasted with the afternoon heat. The santera, a handsome and lithe mulata in her early forties, acknowledged my presence with a friendly smile and a flowery greeting, then gave her full attention to Hector as she led him to the first of several altars consecrated to the Orishas, the most powerful gods and goddesses of santeria.

Several plates were filled with candy, pieces of white corn cake and coconut meat. "These are the favorite foods of the Orishas, and it's a way of obtaining their intervention and help," the santera explained to Hector - who was looking strangely white, with tiny traces of perspiration on his forehead. Then she signaled for us to follow her to a smaller room in the back of the house and motioned Hector to sit in a straight chair. I edged my way into the gloom of a corner, leaning against the wall, and she made no further reference to my presence.

First she took four small pieces of coconut rind, which she tossed to the floor. Some landed with the white side up, others with the skin on top. This divining system, she told him, is used by priests and priestesses to ask their saint-guides to answer any questions their inquirers may pose, and also to provide solutions to their immediate problems. The slight woman studied the rinds and then said gravely: "Everything seems to be disintegrating in your hands. I see much trouble in your work. There are five men who are against you."

Hector had a five-man board of directors. I could see his skepticism turn into uneasy respect. His posture egged her on, and she threw the rinds once more. Again she diagnosed: "A powerful enemy. A spell has been cast." Her small mouth turned to a reassuring smile: "Our religion is a positive force, though, only to do good. So we will exert this force to neutralize the evil spell. We will need the help of the most powerful Orishas: Obatala, the all-mighty God of purity, whom we shall invoke to rid you of evil influences; Eshu, who has the key to every door and is the guardian of every road and whose permission must be secured before obtaining the help of other Orishas; and Chango, god of fire and thunder, who will give you strength and cunning for your struggle."

Hector now looked relaxed, as if suddenly he had yielded up his problems. And even though the santera left us alone while she went to prepare various items for the exorcism, he said nothing to me; he merely stared at a far corner smiling sweetly. When she returned, she spread a white mat in front of Hector, and placed on it a cauldron with knives, a few small implements, a dish with tiny dark stones and a large machete with a red handle, which she placed ceremoniously against the wall. Then she set several thick candles around the edges.

She bowed several times and poured a sweet-smelling perfume into his cupped hands, then annointed his forehead with it, saying, "My son, with the permission of your Guardian Angel, I pray that your hands, your ears, your eyes and your nose - in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit - shall not touch, see, hear or smell evil. I now cast away any evil spirit that may put difficulties on your road to good. And lastly and most special, I pray to your mouth against any potions that may harm your good state of health, detain your progress, or make you obey the will of others."

I had an enormous sense of relief that this was the end, but then she motioned him to kneel at the mat before the cauldron, and, disappearing briefly, she brought back a live red chicken which she ceremoniously "presented" over his head, chest and shoulders. The santera commanded in a voice without inflection, "Take the chicken and offer it to Orishas." As if in a trance, Hector reached for the sullen bird which, probably drugged, did not offer resistance. "Now make your request to the gods," she added.

He remained for a long time clutching the chicken. Then, without warning, she produced a small, sharp knife and deftly cut the chicken's throat; Hector held on as if glued to the contracting body. Leading his hands with her own, she aimed the flow of bursting blood from the animal's neck to bathe the cauldron, the machete and all the other implements. I felt somewhat nauseated, and was seized with wonder that the two of us - educated, responsible men - were in this situation. But the woman's voice, which now was deeply guttural, compelled his allegiance as she spoke in a strange tongue: "Xango mani cote Xango mani cote olle masa Xango mani cote mani cote alle masa Xango ari bari cote Xango...."

He watched, fascinated, as she poured honey over the bloody cauldron and machete and then covered the sticky mixture with feathers plucked from the dead chicken. Then she removed the mat, carefully cleansed the floor of any remnants of blood from the sacrifice, and motioned him back into the wooden chair. This time, she prepared a paste of white corn, coconut meat and dende oil, again annointed his hands and forehead and spoke in the strange tongue: "Illa mi ile oro illa mi ile oro vira ye yeye oyo ya mala ye icu oche ocho...." Then she took a drink of rum and spat it out, spraying the candles and other ceremonial objects, and finally threw the coconut rinds again. They all came up on the white side.

"A very good omen, my son," she said. "Now you will vanquish your enemies and their evil designs. The Orishas are pleased with your sacrifice." She shoved the enamel plate closer to him, and he put into it an envelope which he had obviously prepared beforehand. He did not tell me how much was in it.

Three days later, Hector flew to Tampa for a special session with his five-man board of directors. In his pocket, he carried a necklace of red and black peony beads and a small crucifix made of the magic wood of the ceiba tree; the santera had given it to him earlier as a talisman. At the meeting, he delivered an impassioned speech defending his policies and

and received a strong commitment from the majority. With it came a new contract.

I've seen him once again, and we spoke only briefly of the experience. He theorizes that the whole thing is psychological, that the powers of the santera are nothing but the psychic energy which can be transmitted from one being to another, and be transformed - as in his personal case - into self-confidence and positive action.

He is on top right now, and attention to the Orishas is relegated to his wife. But I suppose at his next reverse he will return to the santera and once again place his faith in her powers as millions of others have done in the past and will continue to do.

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MODULE VIII - ENDNOTES

1. "Technonomy," as it is called, generally means that two family names are used together, e.g., Roberto Garcia Gonzalez. Garcia is the name of Roberto's father's father; Gonzalez is the name of his mother's father. (If the man is to be addressed by one family, the first name is used, but not the second.) The wife of Roberto writes her name Maria Rivera de Garcia. She retains the family name of her father's father, Rivera, and she adopts, usually with the "de," the first name of her husband, Garcia.

2. In the Velazquez Dictionary "Macho" is defined as being among other things: "1. A male animal; in particular, a he-mule or a he-goat. 2. A masculine plant...11. masculine, vigorous, robust male." The noun "macho" is related to the verb "machacar," "To pound, firmly and strongly...to believe in God firmly and sincerely," and the verb "machetear," "to beget more males than females."

3. It is possible that this custom could have been reinforced by the Spaniards since the Indians had a similar one called "guaitiao." Two people became related by blood by guaitiao. They made a small cut on the wrists and crossed both wrists so that the blood of one mixed with the blood of the other. In that way they became guaitiaos or "blood brothers."

4. Fitzpatrick, Joseph P., Puerto Rican Americans: The Meaning of Migration to the Mainland, Prentice-Hall (NJ), 1971, p. 90.

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MODULE IX: THE NUYORICAN: ASPECTS OF THE DEVELOPING CULTURE IN THE U.S.

TIME

1 hour

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to increase awareness of some of the latest cultural developments in the Puerto Rican - Latino communities in the United States.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of this module, you will be able to:

- Explain the cultural and linguistic meaning behind the term salsa .
- Identify at least three socio-cultural problem areas for Puerto Ricans as depicted in the "Puerto Rican Obituary," by Pedro Pietri.

DESCRIPTION

Description

This session is composed of the poem, "Puerto Rican Obituary," discussions surrounding the "divided nation" issue and a presentation on Nuyorican development.

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- "Nuyorican Aspects of the Mainland Puerto Rican Culture" by Frank Espada
- Transcript of the poem, "Puerto Rican Obituary" by Pedro Pietri

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NUYORICAN ASPECTS OF THE MAINLAND PUERTO RICAN CULTURE

Frank Espada
November, 1978

Although most first generation immigrants never really "left" the Island, that is, they always believed that "some day" they would return to their beloved "isla," this was certainly not the case for two other groups within the New York Puerto Rican community. The first group became known as the "bridge" generation -- those who although born in Puerto Rico, migrated early in life (usually under 10) and were raised and educated in New York. These individuals had the obvious advantage (over the old folks, who were already adults when they migrated) of being truly bi-lingual and bi-cultural: they had experienced Island traditions and culture and they understood and, in many ways, accepted American modes. The importance of this "bridge" generation cannot be over-emphasized. They became the "wedge" that began to open doors for the next group: the mainland born Puerto Ricans.

This second (and third) generation of Puerto Ricans differed in marked ways from their Island-born parents. They were more independent, more willing to question formerly accepted authority and institutions, and certainly a lot more aggressive. They accepted English as their first language (Spanish was discouraged in school until a relatively short time ago, with the advent of bi-lingual education), with the resulting inability to speak Spanish fluently. And they did not appreciate the first generation's submissiveness to authority (the teacher, the doctor, the policeman, the "well-educated," the wealthy) and their attitudes regarding some traditional Puerto Rican values.

In addition, the normal and historical rebellion of the second generation of an immigrant group to the old country ways was further exacerbated by the rapidly changing social conditions of the late 50's and 60's. These were turbulent and difficult times, - the social revolution, most commonly identified with the black community, affected the Puerto Rican just as sharply, perhaps bringing about more significant changes than even in the black community.

Essentially, the second generation freed itself from several traditional elements of the culture (machismo; undue respect for authority; unwarranted acceptance of the established order; fatalism) thereby sowing the seed of a new Puerto Rican mainland culture.

The term Nuyorican is, for lack of a better one, what best describes this new, hybrid culture. Initially the term was coined in Puerto Rico, where it had (and still has) a mildly derogatory meaning. A Nuyorican is looked down upon for essentially the same reasons which created the new culture. However, the worst aspect of this new person (according to Islanders) was the inability to handle the Spanish language. That is an unforgiveable sin.

However, and possibly as a result of this rejection (for Nuyoricans were not really Puerto Ricans), this new generation identified Puerto Rican in an almost fanatical way. They became the militants of the 60's, carrying the issue of independence of the Island as a banner to their legitimacy. And they were here to stay. The dreams of someday returning to a small plot of land on the side of a beautiful mountain in Puerto Rico died with their parents. And Although there is a reverse migration pattern (a back to the Island phenomena), it is the old folks who are returning. The Nuyorican is not only here to stay, he/she has been at the center of a dramatic diaspora which has taken place primarily during this decade, and which has made this community a truly national group. The 1980 Census will show Puerto Rican communities of 10,000 or more in over 60 cities across the land. In many of those cities Nuyoricans are in leadership positions, veterans of the struggles in New York City. In effect, the term -

Nuyorican - has, in important ways become a state of mind rather than a place, for it symbolizes the new, aggressive, resourceful, stubborn and hardy new breed of Puerto Ricans who have shed characteristics in the culture which are inimical to survival in this country while retaining some of the Island culture: personalismo, dignidad, respeto, compasion - invididualism, dignity, respect, compassion. The "ay bendito"[1] culture has spawned the "viva yo"[2] generation.

But, they face old problems as well as new challenges. The pressures are immense, sometimes impossible: the Puerto Rican adolescent has the highest suicide rate of any comparable age group in the country; the rate of drop-out (or push-outs) from high school is the highest of any age group; many become addicted (10 times as many as mainland whites); many die premature and violent deaths.

But they also overcome: they are the backbone of a purely Nuyorican cultural expression: salsa music, which has achieved national acceptance (in the west coast they publish a salsa top-ten list); they are becoming prominent in the arts, the theatre, the law and the human service field. And they are slowly rising to positions of leadership in politics and civic affairs.

This new generation, however, has undoubtedly drifted further away from the Island culture. Some have begun to talk about a "divided nation." There is little doubt in anyone's mind that there are significant differences in perspective, in approaches to issues and in values between, say, an Island-born and educated lawyer from a "good family" (middle or upper class) who had nothing to worry about except passing grades in school, and a second generation ghetto Puerto Rican, who had to struggle just to survive and who made it through college and law school on sheer strength of will and determination. The fact of the matter seems to be that this is the usual pattern rather than an isolated case.

The coming issue, the dialogue which many feel must be joined, is the one examining whether or not we have a divided nation, whether in fact the chasm is irreparable. Many feel it is, that another generation will finally cut the last final strands to a beautiful culture that could not survive this hostile land.

TAPE SCRIPT

Puerto Rican Obituary

Puerto Rico Is A Beautiful Place / Puerriquenos Are A Beautiful Race

Pedro Pietri

They worked
They were always on time
They were never late
They never spoke back
When they were insulted
They worked
They never took days off
that were not on the calendar
They never went on strike
without permission
They worked
Ten days a week
And were only paid for five
They worked
They worked
They worked
And they died
They died broke
They died owing
They never died knowing
What the front entrance
of the First National Bank looks like

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
And will die tomorrow
Passing their bill collectors
On the next of kin
All died
Waiting for the Garden of Eden
To open up again
under new management
All died
Dreaming about America
Waking them up in the middle of
the night
Screaming: Mira! Mira:
Your name is on the winning
lottery ticket
For one hundred thousand dollars
All died
Hating the grocery stores
That sold them make-believe steaks
And bullet proof rice and beans
All died waiting dreaming and dating

Dead Puerto Ricans
Who never knew they were Puerto Ricans
Who never took a coffee break
From the ten commandments
To KILL KILL KILL
The landlords of their cracked skulls
And communicate with their Latino souls

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
From their nervous breakdown streets
Where the mice live like millionaires
And the people do not live at all
Are dead and were never alive

Juan
Died waiting for his number to hit
Miguel
Died waiting for the welfare check
To come and go and come again
Milagros
Died waiting for her 10 children
To grow up and work
So she could quit working
Olga
Died waiting for a five dollar raise
Manuel
Died waiting for his supervisor to
drop dead
So that he could get a promotion

Is a long ride
From Spanish Harlem

Where they were buried
First the train
And then the bus
And the cold cuts for lunch

We know your spirit is able
Death is not dumb and disable
RISE TABLE RISE TABLE

Juan
Miguel

Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
And will die again tomorrow
Hating fighting and stealing
Broken windows from each other
Practicing a religion without a roof
The old testament
The new testament
According to the gospel
Of the Internal Revenue
The judge and jury and executioner
Protector and internal bill collector

Secondhand shit for sale
Learn how to say: Como Esta Usted
and you will make a fortune

They are dead
They are dead
and will not return from the dead
Until they stop neglecting
The art of their dialogue
for broken English lessons
to impress the mister Goldsteins
who keep them employed
as lavaplatos porters messenger boys
Factory workers maids stock clerks
Shipping clerks assistant mailroom
Assistant, assistant, assistant, assistant
To the assistant, assistant lavalplatos
and automatic smiling doorman
for the lowest wages of the ages
and rages when you demand a raise
because its against the company policy
to promote SPICS SPICS SPICS

Juan
Died hating Miguel because Miguel's
Used car was in better condition
Than his used car

Miguel
Died hadint Milagros because Milagros
had a color television set
and he could not afford one yet
Milagros
Died hating Olga because Olga
made five dollars more on the same job

Olga
Died hating Manuel because Manuel
Had hit the numbers more times than
she had hit the numbers

Manuel
Died hating all of them
Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Because they all spoke broken English
More fluently than he did

and now they are together
In the main lobby of the void
addicted to silence
Off limits to the wind
Confine to worm supremacy

In Long Island cemetery
This is the goovy hereafter
The protestant collection box
was talking so loud and proud about

Here lies Juan
Here lies Miguel
Here lies Milagros
Here lies Olga
Here lies Manuel
Who died yesterday today
and will die again tomorrow
Always broke
always owing
never knowing
that they are beautiful people
never knowing
the geography of their complexion

PUERTO RICO IS A BEAUTIFUL PLACE
PUERTORRIQUENOS ARE A BEAUTIFUL RACE

and the flowers
that will be stolen
when visiting hours are over
Is very expensive
Is very expensive
But they understand
Their parents understood
Is a long non-profit ride
from Spanish Harlem
to long island cemetery

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
All died yesterday today
and will die again tomorrow
Dreaming
Clean-cut lily-white neighborhood
Puerto Ricanless scene
Thirty-thousand-dollar home
The first spics on the block
Proud to belong to a community
of gringos who want them lynched

Proud to be a long distance away
from the sacred phrase: Que Pasa

These dreams
They empty dreams
from the make-believe bedrooms
their parents left them
are the after-effects
of television programs
about the ideal
white american family
with black maids
and latino janitors
who are well trained
to make everyone
and their bill collectors
laugh at them
and the people they represent

Juan
died dreaming about a new car
Miguel
died dreaming about new anti-
poverty programs
Milagros
died dreaming about a trip to
Puerto Rico
Olga
died dreaming about real jewelry
Manual died dreaming about the
irish sweepstakes
They all died
like a hero sandwich dies
in the garment district
at twelve o'clock in the afternoon
social security number to ashes
union dues to dust

They knew
they were born to weep
and keep the morticians employed
as long as they pledge allegiance
to the flag that wants them destroyed
They saw their names listed
in the telephone directory of destruction
They were trained to turn
the other cheek by newspapers
that mispelled mispronounced
and misunderstood their names
and celebrated when death came

They were born dead
and they died dead

Is time
to visit Sister Lopez again
the number one healer
and fortune card dealer
in Spanish Harlem
She can communicate
with your late relatives
for a reasonable fee
Good news is guaranteed

Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
Those who love you want to know
the correct number to play
Let them know this right away
Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
Now that your problems are over
and the world is off your shoulders
help those who you left behind
find financial peace of mind
Rise Table Rise Table
death is not dumb and disable
If the right number we hit
all our problems will split
and we will visit your grave
on every legal holiday
Those who love you want to know
the correct number to play
Let them know this right away

If only they
had turned off the television
and turned into their own imaginations
if only they
Had used the white supremacy bibles
for toilet paper purpose
and made their Latino souls
The only religion of their race
If only they
Had turned to the definition of the sun
After the first mental snowstorm
On the summer of their senses
If only they
Had kept their eyes open
At the funeral of their fellow employees
Who came to this country to make a fortune
And were buried without underwear

Juan
Miguel
Milagros
Olga
Manuel
Will right now be doing their own thing
Where beautiful people sing
And dance and work together
Where the wind is a stranger
To miserable weather conditions
Where you do not need a dictionary
To communicate with your hermancs y
hermanas
Aqui se hable espanol all the time
Aqui you salute your flag first
Aqui there are no dial soap commercials

Aqui everybody smells good
Aqui TV dinners do not have a future
Aqui the man admires desires
And never gets tired of his woman
Aqui Que Pasa Power is what's happening
Aqui to be called negrito y negrita
Means to be called LOVE

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FLOATING MODULE: RACISM IN PUERTO RICO & THE UNITED STATES

TIME

Flexible, inserted at an appropriate point in the program recommended time: 15-30 minutes.

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to explore the myth that there is no racism in Puerto Rico. The module will also describe the "shade discrimination" on the Island as opposed to the "institutionalized racism" of the United States.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

At the end of the module, you will be able to:

- Explain the existence of the myth that there is no racism in Puerto Rico.
- Identify the different racial classifications in Puerto Rico and their origins.
- Give a reason why Puerto Ricans tend to identify with ethnicity rather than with race.
- Discuss the question of racial vs. ethnic identification in the United States.

DESCRIPTION

Description

This module consists of a mini-lecture and discussion on the following topics:

- Historical roots in Europe
- Historical roots in Puerto Rico
- "Negro" as love token
- Color and religion
- Famous Black Puerto Ricans
- Race as a social and personal issue

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- List of racial terms used in Puerto Rico
- "The Prejudice of Having No Prejudice in Puerto Rico" by Samuel Betances

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RACIAL TERMINOLOGY USED IN PUERTO RICO

The following listing of popular racial expressions in Puerto Rico, when properly understood and explained, can quite accurately define racial and class attitudes (pelo malo, pelo bueno; cocolo; mejorar la sangre).

Some are pejorative in nature; most are at least uncomplimentary. Certainly, they contribute to the efforts to explode the myth of a Puerto Rico without racial prejudice, for they reflect the society's concern with the complicated issues of race and class.

ANGOLO:	Dark skinned black
BEMBA:	Thick (negroid) lips (also: BEMBON)
BLANQUITO:	A light skinned individual, usually associated with position and money.
CHINO:	Asian featured (usually slant-eyed) individual
COCOLO:	Pejorative. A very black individual (also: PRIETO)
GRIFO:	3/4 black - cross between a mulatto (see below) and a full-blooded black. Also termed: PASO ATRAS - a backward step (see mejorar la sangre)
INDIO:	Individual with some "Indian" features: bronze skin, high cheek bones, straight black hair.
TRIGUENO:	Swarthy skinned, olive complexioned individual. Used to encompass the great variety of skin shades.
MANCHA DE PLATANO:	Lit.: Plaintain stain - denotes any trace of African ancestry. (Also: RAJA DE NEGRO - "a slice of black")
EL QUE NO TIENE DINGA TIENE MANDIGA:	Lit.: He who doesn't have Dinga, has Mandinga - The Dingas and Mandingas were West African slave tribes. A reference to the universality of black ancestry in Puerto Rico.
MORENO:	Black. In New York City commonly used to refer to Mainland blacks. Also: MOLLETO (pejorative) used as a racial slur.
PELO BUENO, PELO MALO:	Lit.: Good hair, bad hair. Straight hair, considered good as opposed to "bad" hair (kinky, African).
KAFRE:	Cheap, worthless person event or object. Thought to originate in the African "KHAFIR."
JABAITO:	A light-skinned individual with some traces of black ancestry but who can almost "pass" for white.

JABAO:	Light skinned, light eyed individual but with kinky light brown hair.
MESTIZO:	Almost obsolete. Denotes individual of White/Indian ancestry.
MULATTO:	Black/White ancestry.
MOZAMBIQUE:	Pejorative. Lit.: A crow. Used to denote a very black individual.
MEJORAR LA SANGRE:	Lit.: "To improve the blood." To "step up" in racial mix by marrying someone lighter than you.

THE PREJUDICE OF HAVING NO PREJUDICE IN PUERTO RICO

by
Samuel Betances, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of identity as it relates to race and color in Puerto Rican life is very important. This article will focus on race prejudice in Puerto Rico. The myth that Puerto Rico is a kind of human relations paradise where racism is nonexistent has to be exploded. Wherever exploitation exists, racism also exists. Race prejudice is a tool of those who would exploit in order to justify and blame the victims for their condition.

To suggest that Puerto Rico is free of race prejudice is to ignore reality. To insist that one should not tell the awful truth found in Puerto Rican culture is to want unity at any cost - perhaps influenced by the notion of "my country right or wrong." Unity based on error is not lasting. Truth must be made available to the masses of people.

To suggest that it is irresponsible to debate with other Puerto Ricans, at the risk of racist Americans eavesdropping, the truth about our own hang-ups, is to take an elitist posture not conducive to trusting the will of those who depend upon us for information on which our community must decide a common fate.

As with all of the islands in the Caribbean, Puerto Rico has a history of slavery, discrimination, and race prejudice all its own. The purpose of this article is to put into perspective why it is often believed, by Americans and by Puerto Ricans themselves, that there is an absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico. (The view that Puerto Rico does not have race prejudice has been held by many students of the Island to the detriment of solving real and growing problems in Puerto Rican life.) A review of the relevant literature on the subject will reveal race prejudice in the context of the Puerto Rican sociocultural experience.

Several factors account for the mistaken attitude that no race prejudice or discrimination exists in the Island: (1) the notion that Iberian slave laws were more liberal and humane than slave laws of other nations, thus influencing the Latin Caribbean Islands to be more humane and liberal in matters of race relations to this date; (2) the belief that the absence of excessive violence and cruelty in the history of Puerto Rican race relations also indicates an absence of racism in Puerto Rico; (3) the belief that racial factors are not significant in determining social and class patterns of discrimination; (4) the belief that prejudice and race tolerance cannot exist simultaneously in the same family or culture - thus, the citing of mixed marriages in Puerto Rico as evidence of an absence of race prejudice; (5) the lack of analysis by Puerto Rican writers who for reasons all their own want to believe that a problem of race prejudice does not exist in Borinquen; (6) the effort of American writers to find in Puerto Rico an example of a place where problems between the races have been solved; (7) the fact that constant comparison by sociological writers of race relations in Puerto Rico with race relations in the United States leads to faulty conclusions.

Each of these allegations will be considered separately to explain how they have supported the myth for the absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico.

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George Flinter, an early student of the slave experience in Puerto Rico (1832) did a lot to spread the belief that the liberality of slave laws in Puerto Rico was responsible for the peaceful way in which slave and nonslave residents lived in Puerto Rico. His books, one in English, the other in Spanish, developed a theme which would later be incorporated into what is known to students of slavery in the Western Hemisphere as "Tannenbaum's theory." Tannenbaum believed that the degree of liberality or cruelty in systems of slavery is determined mainly by favorable or unfavorable influence of laws in a society.[1]

Unlike the slave laws of non-Iberians, it was believed by Flinter and made popular by Tannenbaum that the slave system of the Spaniards protected the "moral and legal dignity of the slave." If and when "kindness, affection, and understanding between master and slave"[2] occurred in the southern United States, for example, Tannenbuam explained that such expressions were "personal and with no standing in the law. Legally, there were no effective remedies against abuse and no channels to freedom."

Liberal slave legislation in Puerto Rico did not keep the Negro slave in the Island from experiencing a miserable existence. Documents of the slave experience in Puerto Rico repeatedly point to the blatant disregard for laws designed to protect the "morals and dignity" of the slave whenever it suited the needs of the slave owner. Luis Diaz Soler and other students of slavery in Puerto Rico document the existence of "haciendas" which gained a reputation for the "taming" of rebellious slaves. Gordon reports "slaves were branded, beaten, burned, revished, hung, shot or had their hands, arms, ears, or legs cut off, depending upon the offense and the punisher." The author of the basic work concerning the slave experience in Puerto Rico indicates "some masters forced slaves to eat human excrement."[3]

The role of the Catholic Church in relation to the hypothesis that Spanish laws were liberal must be briefly considered also. According to law, the clergy had the responsibility of attending to the spiritual and educational needs of the slaves in Puerto Rico. In both of these responsibilities the record indicates that the church was derelict, except as an agent of the slave system. "Conversion of the Negro to the faith of the Spaniards was a necessity in order to establish a formula which would create a feeling of obedience, conformity, humility and sacrifice, which was to contribute in making slave life tolerable."[4]

Not only was the education of the slave "abandoned by the 'eclesiasticos,' but the Catholic Church became a slave owner in Puerto Rico. The leadership of the Church took initiative with civil authorities and other slave owners in causing Negro slaves to "marry" in efforts to "increase the slave population with having to pay the cost of importing slaves from Africa and Europe."[5]

In the area of race relations, the Church in Puerto Rico maintained separate baptismal records, segregated on the basis of "black" and "white"; the clergy issued certificates on the "purity of the blood" giving assurances that in the veins of a citizen flowed no Black or Indian blood. The Spaniards, noted a British critic, related to slavery in their possessions so as not to let "their spiritual aims. . . interfere (with) their secular enterprises."

Some have argued that Spaniards had extensive experience with slavery prior to the New World experience so as to have developed a "moral" philosophy which in turn carried benefits to the slaves. However, the history of the Puerto Rican slave experience found that "the introduction of Africans in the discovered lands found an absence of legislation as to punitive or corrective methods which in turn authorized slave masters and slave caretakers (mayorales) to make their own laws, causing in instances brutal and extremely inhuman punishment."[6]

It becomes clear, then, that (1) Spanish slave laws and codes in Puerto Rico were ignored or enforced with the welfare of the slave master as a point of departure; (2) the "channels of freedom" were more directly connected to the economic situation of Puerto Rico than to liberal laws. Under pressure from the abolition movement in Puerto Rico, a lot of liberal codes and regulations were put in the law books of the Island for "public consumption" as "propaganda," but in actuality established the myth that liberal laws meant humane treatment of slaves.[7]

ABSENCE OF EXCESSIVE VIOLENCE

While Puerto Rico has not experienced segregated neighborhoods, racial lynchings, race riots, church bombings, police brutality in the form of race beatings or other forms of interracial violence as one finds record of in the United States, the conclusion that one might reach concerning the absence of race prejudice in the Island might be misleading.

Historical evidence, past and present, indicates the presence of violence and race prejudice in Puerto Rico. Exploitation has been the social reality in Puerto Rico and "race" the tool which makes human beings "inferior" and thus "justly" exploitable. The Negro as slave suffered much in Puerto Rico, as has been indicated above. He continues to suffer in Puerto Rico, joined by other exploited poor ("low class" and "nonwhite"). But his badge of "inferiority" keeps the lowest rung in the social ladder for himself.[8]

Eduardo Seda makes a notable analysis of race prejudice in Puerto Rico when he calls attention to the "social hypocrisy which has come to drown in a conspiracy of silence the possibility of a frank and healthy discussion of the problem.[9] A barrier to "frank" and "healthy" discussion of the problem has been the belief that a lack of American-style, racial violence indicates an absence of race prejudice in Puerto Rico. Seda maintains that Puerto Ricans have a "head-in-the-sand" attitude toward the race problem which in the final analysis is "childish" and mitigates against efforts to resolve the problem.

While there might be some truth to the assertion that violence of the kind, or perhaps in some instances to the degree found in the United States, is not as rampant in Puerto Rico, violence inspired by racism is present in the Island.

One type of race-violence has special psychological implications for Puerto Ricans. It is defined by Renzo Sereno as "cryptomelanism." He defines the concept as it relates to the mental turmoil that some Puerto Ricans go through as they make "constant efforts to hide the existence of the color problem within the self." There exists in the Island "color insecurity," a drive to be non-Negro or completely White.

The hostile drives deriving from such insecurity are not externalized, because of lack of definite targets, but are directed instead against the self. The efforts toward discrimination and segregation are (a) an attempt at relieving self-destructive drives by establishing categorical racial differences, thereby making possible hostile drives against external targets, and (b) an attempt toward a rational belief that the self is wholly and perfectly non-Negro, or perfectly white. Neither of these attempts is successful because both are emotionally and rationally unacceptable to the self.[10]

Another supports the thesis that racial prejudice is present in Puerto Rico, despite a lack of excessive interracial violence. Juan Rodriguez Cruz reports: "Those who have observed the humble man from the countryside have noticed that many amongst them claim a pure lineage of Spanish descent. These countryside folk express contempt of the black fellow countrymen and they are opposed to the idea that a son or a daughter should contract marriage with one of theirs."[11]

The question of conflict and violence has another important dimension which merits at least brief consideration here. If violence and conflict because of race prejudice is often internalized by Puerto Ricans rather than being externalized, what are the implications of such behavior on the ability of Puerto Ricans to solve the problem or face prejudice in the Island? The fact is that very few Puerto Ricans at all are taking issue with the racial discrimination in Puerto Rico, least of all Black and other nonwhites. Is conflict and perhaps violence necessary to solve a problem of race discrimination?

If conflict is a necessary ingredient for a society on the verge of attempting to solve problems of racial discrimination, then Puerto Rican society is in crisis. With few exception have members of the scholarly community dared put the issue of race relations before an Islandwide forum. The government, though it commissioned a study in the early 1960s, has not moved toward fulfilling any of the recommendations. Students at the University of Puerto Rico have not made the plight of the poor (white and nonwhite) part of their social concern. The problem of racial discrimination has not been publicly espoused by mulattos, and "the most African-like sectors of the population keep themselves from becoming public activists on guard or against racial discrimination."

As one faculty member at the University of Puerto Rico put it, "not only is it impossible to find a black movement in action in Puerto Rico, the fact is that such a possibility has not even been 'contemplated.'."

The lack of interest in things "black" and the fact that in Puerto Rico there has never been "any concerted effort or interest" in probing or studying the magnificent African contribution to Puerto Rico has been described by Thomas Mathews as "deplorable."[12]

SOCIAL AND CLASS DISCRIMINATION

Jose Celso Barbosa is an important figure in the history of Puerto Rico. As a Black man he became the first of his race to rise to prominence in the affairs of the Island. Celso Barbosa wrote a lot about his beliefs and unlike other prominent black Puerto Ricans, he spoke out on racial issues. One important reason for examining the aspect of "class" and "social" discrimination through the words of Celso Barbosa is that he is often used and quoted as the classic example by Americans and Puerto Ricans who hold the view that there is no prejudice in the Island, simply "social" and "class" discrimination.

As far as Barbosa was concerned, Puerto Rico did not have a problem of color:

> The problem of color does not exist in Puerto Rico. It does not exist in the political life; it does not exist in public life. If a line does exist and it is logical that it should, it is more or less found in the social life. Not having, then, a problem of color in public life and since the color element has never attempted to cross or to erase the social line, the problem of color does not exist in Puerto Rico.[13]

His formula was simple, "if you stay in your place, you will never have a color problem." His newspaper articles elaborated further his stance. He warned black Puerto Ricans, "never try to confuse social questions with those which are public and political." Again, he wrote that Blacks in Puerto Rico must never try "by tolerance or by favor" to break the "social line of division" which existed at that time.

Celso Barbosa was inconsistent in his views concerning the problem of race and color in Puerto Rican life. While he said that there was no problem of color, he often wrote about ways of "solving" the problem of color in the Island. He envisioned a solution to the race problem in Puerto Rico through intermarriages between Whites and nonwhites. It seemed logical to him that if people who occupied the lowest rung of the social and economic ladder were there because they were Black and nonwhite, the solution was simply to make them White, or at least, less Black.

The solution was already on the way since, according to him, the "black race had been losing itself with other races." He believed that a man of color in Puerto Rico had three types of blood in his veins: "Each man of color in Puerto Rico is a conglomeration of blue blood (royal lineage), Indian blood and African blood." Evolution was the key to the racial problem of Puerto Rico. The "black" Puerto Rican would become "grifo," the "grifo" would become "mulatto," and the "mulatto" would evolve and become "white," and the "black, black" (negro, negro) would disappear. The evolution will continue; and the problem will be resolved."

The belief that there is no race prejudice in Puerto Rico, but simply social or class discrimination has at times weakened scholarly efforts at interpreting the Puerto Rican socio-historical experience. Such is the case with the basic work on the history of slavery in Puerto Rico, by Luis Diaz Soler. The author gathers together in one volume more than enough sources to make a first rate analysis. Somehow convinced that race prejudice is foreign to the Puerto Rican experience, he very selectively chooses a quotation from Celso Barbosa to close a final chapter of his book on slavery.

Although Celso Barbosa's own words indicated a willingness "to accept his place," though he equated "white blood" with "blue blood," Soler gives credence to his assumption by presenting Barbosa as the mouthpiece for Blacks in Puerto Rico. Soler writes:

> The certain words of Dr. Barbosa are worthy to close the history of slavery in Puerto Rico. A people which maintained for a period of more than three hundred years an institution of that nature as an integral part of its social and economic structure, nevertheless offered the ex-slave the opportunity to live in equal plane with their fellow citizens enjoying all the rights belonging to free citizens.

Puerto Ricans are insulted if told they are racist. Such an accusation will, if not carefully defined, place them in the same category as the Americans in the mainland. In the United States, laws have been passed to deliberately exclude Blacks from full participation in American life after slavery. Such occurrences have not taken place in Puerto Rico. The paradox that exists for the Puerto Rican who is insulted by an accusation which claims he is racist, is that while he denies that he is racist, he is confronted with the social fact of Blacks and nonwhites in Puerto Rico occupying interior positions to Whites in Puerto Rico's economic, social and public life.

Discrimintation in Puerto Rico, however, is not the result of deeply inbred prejudice or of a deeply seated conviction of racial inequality. It is a social pattern, automatically followed, which tends to be institutionalized along American lines. But it lacks the personal element of conviction in racial inequality which is part of the American picture.

If there is not a program or plan designed to benefit Whites at the expense of nonwhites in Puerto Rico and other Latin American regions, why is it that Whites are to be found on top of the social, economic and political pyramid and nonwhites at the bottom?

Because Whites in Puerto Rico did not try to compensate the Black Puerto Rican after abolition by making him aware of his cultural background which the slavery experience had mutilated and destroyed, the Whites unwittingly set up a system which worked against Blacks and favored Whites. Even though, now, Puerto Ricans speak of "social" and "class" discrimination as opposed to race discrimination, the fact remains that the system set up by Whites so much favors them as opposed to the Blacks that the term "upper class" in the Island is synonymous with "white," while the term "lower class" denotes "blackness."

In his book, Los Derechos Civiles En La Cultura Puertorriquena, Eduardo Seda studies in depth the problem of race prejudice in the Puerto Rican culture. He focuses on the issue of social and class status as it relates to race:

If racial discrimination was not a factor in Puerto Rico, we could reason that Puerto Ricans do not recognize or claim for themselves identity or social status that is based on racial factors. Nevertheless, we find in our study that not one single person categorized as "nonwhite" claimed membership into the upper social stratum, while the proportion of people of color who identify themselves as members of the low social class exceeded our statistical expectations.

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FLOATING MODULE - ENDNOTES

1. H. Hoetink, The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 24.

2. Frank Tannenbaum, Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas (New York: Knopf Inc., 1946) p. 104.

3. L. Diaz Soler, Historia de la Esclavitud Negra en Puerto Rico, p. 185.

4. Ibid, p. 165.

5. Ibid, p. 172.

6. Ibid, p. 177.

7. Diaz Soler, "Para Una Historia de La Esclavitud en Puerto Rico," op. cit., p. 83.

8. Charles Rogler, Comerio: A Study of a Puerto Rican Town (Laurence: Univ. of Kansas publication, 1940), p. 29.

9. Eduardo Seda Bonilla, Los Derechos Civiles En La Cultura Puertorriquena (Rio Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1963) p. 67.

10. Theodore Caplow, Sheldon Wallace and Samuel Wallace, The Urban Ambience (Totowa, N.J.: Bedminister Press, 1964).

11. Juan Rodriguez Cruz, "Las Relaciones Raciales en Puerto Rico," Revista de Ciencias Sociales, Vol. IX, Num. 4, diciembre 1965, pp. 385-86

12. Thomas Matthews, "La Cuestion de Color en Puerto Rico," mimeograph, (1970), p. 23.

13. Jose Celso Barbosa, Problemas de Razas (San Juan: Imprenta Venezuela, 1937), p. 31; (ed.) Pilar Barbosa de Rosario in the series "La Obra de Jose Celso Barbosa," Vol. III.

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MODULE X: SPECIFIC PROBLEMS & ISSUES IN DEALING WITH THE PUERTO RICAN SUBSTANCE ABUSER

TIME 1 hour, 45 minutes

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purpose of this module is to introduce you to some of the problems involved in the treatment of Puerto Rican substance abusers. Specifically, it should make you more aware of some of the socio-cultural problems that are unique to Puerto Rican abusers as a sub-group of the substance abusing population in general. These problems will be discussed to determine the implications for: a) contributors to substance abuse; b) impediments to treatment opportunities; and c) indicators of appropriate treatment goals and activities.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Learning Objectives

By the end of the module you will be able to:

- List five problems specific to the Puerto Rican substance abuser.
- List five problems Puerto Ricans share with substance abusers in general.
- Discuss some of the implications of these problems in terms of appropriate and inappropriate interventions for Puerto Rican clients.

DESCRIPTION

Description

This session involves discussion on the cultural factors that impact on Puerto Rican substance abusers. The discussion is based on the reading which you should have completed prior to coming to the program (see pp. ______) and on the material in this manual.

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- History of drug abuse treatment in the Puerto Rican community
- Charts outlining some of the cultural factors impacting on the counseling or helping relationship. The factors discussed are:
  - Dignidad and Respeto
  - Confianza
  - Traditional Male and Female Roles
  - The Extended Family and Compadrazgo
  - Race
  - Language
  - Religion
  - Attitudes Towards Authority Figures and Institutions
  - Attitudes Towards Drugs
- Each cultural factor is discussed in terms of:

- an explanation of the cultural factor
- the impact of the factor on client behavior
- the appropriate worker response in the face of the factor
- common worker mistakes concerning these factors
- intervention directions taking into account these factors

HISTORY OF DRUG ABUSE TREATMENT IN THE PUERTO RICAN COMMUNITY

by
Omar Bordatto

In the fifties and early sixties, the family was the main support system dealing with drug abuse in the Puerto Rican community. The addict's family would send the drug abuser to relatives in Puerto Rico where it was hoped the change in environment would arrest his condition. If the individual became involved with the criminal justice system, one of the few avenues of rehabilitation was the federal hospital in Lexington, Kentucky. Oddly enough, most of the Puerto Ricans treated there were referred from the Island since the criminal justice system in Puerto Rico had little resources of experience in dealing with heroin addicts. Lexington had very little success treating Puerto Ricans. Almost all returned to drug abuse upon discharge.

In the early and mid sixties a few Protestant congregations and a handful of Catholic clergymen began a series of religious programs designed to aid the Puerto Rican addict. These programs used religion as a substitute for drug addiction. Addicts had to detoxify "cold turkey" with around the clock assistance from the church members (most often family members). An example of such a program was Exodus House in East Harlem. These programs, however, also had a low success ratio.

In 1961, Dr. Efren Ramirez, a Puerto Rican psychiatrist, began working with addicts in SISLA, a mental institution which used a wing of a hospital for the treatment of heroin addicts in Puerto Rico. Dr. Ramirez believed that addiction could not be successfully treated without rebuilding the client's character. With the help of Piri Thomas, author of "Down These Mean Street," and a product of a religious program in New York, Dr. Ramirez instituted a self-help program using ex-addicts as counselors and role models. The program was quite successful - with a relapse rate of only 5.6 percent as opposed to nearly 90 percent for addicts in federal institutions. The program was so successful that in 1967, New York City's Mayor John Lindsay appointed Dr. Ramirez as the first Commissioner of the newly formed Addiction Services Agency. Dr. Ramirez founded Phoenix House, modeled after SISLA - and it became the model for most therapeutic communities in the east coast.

Even though most programs in the late sixties and early seventies were modeled after Phoenix House and SISLA, Puerto Rican addicts in the mainland still maintained a high rate of failure. These programs were not geared to deal with language and cultural difference of Puerto Ricans- it was against program rules to speak Spanish and native foods were never served - there were few, if any, role models which clients could identify with their culture. The drop-out rate for Puerto Ricans from drug treatment programs during this period was over 95 percent.

In 1969, Frank Gracia, a Puerto Rican ex-addict, founded Services for the Education and Rehabilitation for Addicts (S.E.R.A.). This was the first bi-lingual, bi-cultural drug rehabilitation program in the nation. S.E.R.A. provided counseling sessions in both English and Spanish, the client being free to participate in the language with which he felt most comfortable. Puerto Rican foods were served on a regular basis and the majority of the staff were Puerto Rican ex-addicts who served as excellent role models. Further, the program provided a host of ancillary services such as education, manpower counseling, vocational rehabilitation and social services, for the founder believed that the Puerto Rican addict needed educational and employment skills in order to survive without drugs. S.E.R.A. had an excellent retention rate for Puerto Ricans, with over 60 percent successfully completing the program. Most either returned to school or secured gainful employment.

After 1972, the S.E.R.A. model was replicated in other communities with significant Puerto Rican populations. Senior staff members of S.E.R.A. founded similar programs in other cities, and in most instances S.E.R.A. staff members trained the staff of these new programs. S.E.R.A. graduates are found all over the nation working in different areas of the human services delivery system.

At about this time, under Dr. Ramirez' leadership, Hogares Crea began to operate in Puerto Rico. The program was modeled after SISLA and Phoenix House, adding a concept of self-sufficiency. In order to successfully break the cycle of dependency, maintained Dr. Ramirez, the treatment program must set the example of self-sufficiency. Hogares Crea, with over 55 locations in Puerto Rico and 6 in Santo Domingo, - is currently serving over 3,000 clients, and is approximately 60 percent self-sufficient. They have accomplished this by establishing and managing several business with all profits benefiting the program.

TREATING PUERTO RICAN CLIENTS
A COUNSELOR'S GUIDE TO DOS AND DON'TS

The Counselor's Guide is addressed at drug abuse workers whose client population includes Puerto Rican drug abusers. The guide was developed to provide the user with culturally sensitive responses and techniques which reflect the subtleties of Puerto Rican culture. The guide is conveniently divided into sub-sections dealing with specific cultural characteristics such as machismo or the compadrazgo (Godfather) system.

Each section is further subdivided into the following sub-sections:

(1) Traditional Roles

(2) Impact on Client Behavior

(3) Appropriate Worker Responses

(4) Common Worker Mistakes

(5) Intervention Directions

Under "Traditional Roles," the user is given an explanation of the cutlural trait being analyzed.

The second sub-section, "Impact on Client Behavior," contains information on how this cultural trait could affect client behavior in different situations. In "Appropriate Worker Responses," the user explores different counseling techniques which have been known to work.

Further, the counselor is advised on certain techniques to avoid when counseling Puerto Ricans in the sub-section "Common Worker Mistakes." The section on "Invervention Directions," suggests methods to extract constructive responses from the client.

It is hoped that this guide will be helpful to drug abuse counselors and others in dealing with Puerto Rican clients.

DIGNIDAD AND RESPETO (Personalismo)

These are the basic values of the Puerto Rican culture, and reinforces the belief in the innate worth and uniqueness of each individual in that society; his/her self-worth.

It allows for all Puerto Ricans to feel dignidad (dignity) and as such, any person is thought to be worthy of respeto (respect), regardless of his station in life. It allows for Puerto Ricans to demand obedience from one's inferiors (wife, children, etc.) but also permits the "master" to obey his superiors.

Impact on Client Behavior

- A tendency to defend or address real or imagined insults to his *dignidad* or *respeto*
- An avoidance of new behaviors which may depreciate dignidad (learning English, reading or writing English)
- A sensitivity and avoidance of confrontation when his/her or someone's feelings may be injured
- Resistance to someone else's opinions or suggestions through passive non-cooperation rather than total rejection (*falta de respeto*). (*Falta de respeto* also indicates a lack of respect for the person who is giving the suggestion.) A direct negative reply to some request is also avoided if possible. Rather than yes and no, a client will perhaps say "maybe."
- A possible tendency that clients will trust their decision making to the therapist who is an authority figure
- A preference for face-to-face meetings rather than telephone arrangements
- A tendency to hide or gloss over personal problems that impinge on his dignity.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Build a strong bond of *confianza* before delving into highly personal matter which may damage a person's *dignidad* or *respeto*.
- Avoid direct confrontations of client with his problems. Allow the client to express problems when she/he feels safe in her/his interaction with the therapist.
- Explore the client's fantasies regarding her/his responsibility as well as your role in the helping relationship.
- Initially, avoid close physical proximity to the client and avoid too intimate a reference (first name) to the client until it is asked for by the client.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Direct confrontation of client with her/his problem
- Criticism of the client's lack of understanding of English
- Requiring that the client immediately recount her/his problems and personal history to a receptionist or intake warder, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, or a social worker
- Ridiculing culturally acceptable forms of treatment (spiritualism)
- Probing, questioning and in general demanding clear cut answers to questions when client may not be willing to do so
- Acceptance of initial verbal commitment to treatment without exploration of influence of authority figure.

Intervention Directions

- Establishment of confianza between you and the client
- Slow and careful exploration of the problem to allow the client space to salvage her/his dignidad and respeto
- Careful exploration of what the client will do for her/himself and not because the therapist (an authority figure) has dictated that behavior
- Praising and acknowledging the client's efforts to rehabilitate her/himself no matter how small the step (initial attempts at English, keeping appointments on time, etc.).

CONFIANZA

Confidence and a sense of trust are essential to the treatment relationship. Without that, time is wasted and you may lose the client from treatment.

Evidence of confianza is:

- Direct eye contact
- Close proximity (spatial) of persons
- "Relajo" - kidding, jesting is exhibited
- Exchange of intimate feelings.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Until confianza is established, client may be silent, monosyllabic, cast eyes downward, avoid issues and be generally non responsive to you.
- When confianza is established, begin low key exploration of more intimate areas.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Until confianza is established, do not confront, probe, intimidate the client.
- Allow time/space (physical).
- Respond to feelings and use empathy once confianza is established.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To probe, confront without confianza
- To touch too soon can imply lack of respect
- To expect (or insist) initially that the client look at you while you are speaking (especially if a negative comment is being made)
- To assume that the client is not listening or is being evasive or rude or disrespectful if she/he is not looking at you.

Intervention Directions

- Use confianza to establish the most open and honest interaction possible.

TRADITIONAL ROLES

I. Males (Machismo)

Traditionally it is the male who is the head of the family and the provider who is catered to by his wife. The male is respected by all; the wife is dutiful, the son obedient, and the daughter virtuous. To be "macho" or virile is a dominant value attached to males. It is a trait abetted by permissiveness in behavior (drinking, gambling, going out, etc.).

It is believed that man is superior to women and as such she is to be superior to women and as such she is to be subservient to him. A male is free to make all important decisions and to be obeyed at all times. There is a high value placed on male children over females as males maintain the family name. Males generally tend, however, to house a deep rooted attachment to their mothers and place them near the Virgin Mary in context.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Hesitancy to listen to a women therapist in an authority role
- A continuous vigilance by the male over his manhood, his dignity and respect
- An unwillingness to discuss personal problems that may diminish his sense of manhood (such as a rebellious wife, uncontrolable children, lack of a job, inability to deal with drug addiction, etc.)
- A continuous vigilance over the significant female in the client's life
- A fatalistic acceptance of problems, not because the male is passive or has a defeatist attitude, but rather because it is unmanly to whimper and whine
- A general tendency to see females as superfluous, and to see female therapists as not capable of doing their job.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Establish rapport or confianza with the client so that he feels safe in divulging highly personal and perhaps painful information or problems.
- Give the client a clear explanation of the role of the therapist as a helper and outline the role and responsibilities of the client. This is especially important with female counselors.
- Explore the labels to be used in the relationship (first name, last names, etc.).
- Explore the language to be used in the relationship.
- Avoid confrontations that call for the client to defend his dignity and manliness (ie. why don't you get a job? Speak English and make mistakes - that is okay.)
- If the client is a very traditional Puerto Rican male, be careful about issues around "feminism" in regards to problems with his wife or daughter. (These could be over his wife or daughter going out unchaperoned in the U.S. while he would not permit that behavior on the Island.)
- Be very careful not to make any remarks that could be seen as personal insults. (See confianza in this section.)

Common Worker Mistakes

- Direct confrontation of the client because of lack of knowledge of English, lack of a job, problem with an addiction, etc.
- Taking too many personal liberties (ie. using the client's first name, putting your arm around a client, etc.).
- Assigning a Latino male client to a non-Latino female counselor
- Assuming the client can speak English, or assuming that the client can speak Spanish when it may not be the case
- Discussing issues related to sexuality, or husband - wife problems, etc. without establishing confianza with the client
- Ridiculing the client's values he holds with regards to his image of being a man.

Intervention Directions

- Whenever possible, have a male Puerto Rican counselor work with a male Puerto Rican client.
- Allow the client to use whichever language he feels most comfortable with.
- Do not explore sensitive issues such as marital problem areas or the client's deep feelings until after confianza has been established or the client volunteers the information.
- Accept the client's attitudes and values with regards to male roles and responsibilities.
- Carefully explore the client's need to model these attitudes and values, while reinforcing the client's dignity and respect.

TRADITIONAL ROLES

II. Females (Marianismo)

Traditionally, being a female in Puerto Rican culture carries the values of responsibility to husband or other significant male (father, brother), being faithful, submissive, obedient and humble. She has been clearly assigned a role within the home (hogar) and has been taught over the generations to submit to significant male figures, and to defer to them in all decisions.

Puerto Rican women, traditionally, have also been raised chastely, and religiously. On the one hand, they are taught to seek worldly wise men (serio) but on the other hand, are generally taught that sex and love are extremely intimate and taboo subjects that are governed by God and men.

Most Puerto Rican females prior to industrialization and the migration were never allowed to work or to go on to higher education. Her fate and the decisions about her life were all in the hands of the males in her family.

Traditionally, she was expected to guard her virginity until marriage, and to keep to herself and to her children in her home once married. Permitting strange men in her home while her husband was not present was a serious lack of respect and was not allowed.

As a housewife she generally had no say over important decisions (ie. going to a consultation, birth control, etc.). Sex was thought as a necessary evil to be tolarated because it was your duty to your husband and was an act to beget children. Discussing sexual matters with your husband was considered taboo.

Since the industrialization and migration, the Puerto Rican woman has begun to work for herself and earn a measure of education that was unequalled before. She also had the option of divorce. In New York and Puerto Rico the traditional role of the submissive, passive, long suffering female is undergoing tremendous changes. No longer do women totally fit the typical female role. There are a great number of females in the workforce, leading households, going to college, getting elected to public office and generally doing their own thing.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Puerto Rican women may be reticent to discuss sexual or intimate matters with a male counselor.
- There will be a tendency for Puerto Rican females to be influenced by a husband, father, or other significant male to stay away from treatment since this will indicate her condition to neighbors and cause her family shame.
- Females will revert to "other" treatment avenues (spiritualist, friends or relatives) rather than go to a formal treatment agency.
- Males in the client's life may be suspicious of other males in the treatment program with regards to the woman.
- Her attachment to her home and children can cause her to be reticent to come to a time in treatment because of cultural expectations that she take care of her home.
- Because of the traditional passivity and submissiveness of the female in Puerto Rican culture, she may be more susceptable to male authority figures and follow their directions although she resents doing so. She will not express these feelings because she might offend the authority figure (respeto).
- While she may have rebelled against the cultural expectations for Puerto Rican women, she may still expect males to treat her as a Puerto Rican female.
- Her self concept (respeto, dignidad) may have suffered a severe blow because of her substance abuse. She may feel that she has become a woman of the streets and a fallen woman (no longer a virgin, the good daughter, the good wife).
- She may have let go of her husband and be the head of the household, but she will probably expect her children to follow the traditional values of respect for a significant male.
- She may have lacked proper role models and be confused about her place in society, thus she might resist assimilation of new behaviors more vigorously than females of other ethnic groups (eg. feminism).
- There may be a significant male who may influence her use of drugs (her use or her abstinance).
- She may have more educational, language and job handicaps than her male counterparts.

Appropriate Worker Response

- At the start of treatment, ask the client if she would prefer a female counselor.
- Before treatment begins, ask her if there is a father, brother, or husband who should be consulted in the treatment phase.
- Have a female staff member, preferebly a Puerto Rican, do a medical workup.
- Allow a longer period of time to establish rapport (confianza) especially if you are a non-Puerto Rican and a male.

- Establish her needs with regards to her home (ie. her responsibility towards her children, her schedule, etc.).
- If you are a non-Puerto Rican female counselor, be careful that you in no way put-down the traditional female roles and responsibilities that your client may hold.

Common Worker Mistake

- Assume that all Puerto Rican female clients are passive and submissive
- Assume that all Puerto Rican female substance abusers are or have been prostitutes
- Beginning treatment without consulting the significant male(s) in the home who may be in the position to hinder treatment
- Suggesting that a Puerto Rican woman put her children up for adoption
- Discuss intimate details of her sex life or her marital problems prior to establishing confianza (this is especially crucial if you are a male counselor)
- Assuming that the substance of abuse for the client is heroin
- Assuming that the substance abusing Puerto Rican woman is dependent on a significant male(s)

Intervention Directions

- Allow for more all-Puerto Rican female groups and to allow for more Puerto Rican female staff members to be seen as role models.
- Provide support and empathy towards the trational role of the female while encouraging more independence in personal decisions.
- Interviewing the family, especially the significant males who may enhance or hinder treatment
- Referral to an outside source for the substance abusing female to keep her children if her marital relationship is not intact. In this way, she will have a home (hogar) to return to.
- Provide more vocational and scholastic opportunities and training to assure economic independence upon re-entry to society.
- Providing Puerto Rican cultural studies to boost the woman's self concept.

EXTENDED FAMILY AND THE COMPADRAZGO GODFATHER SYSTEM

Generally, Puerto Ricans look towards the family (hogar) as the heartbeat of the culture. Everything that makes her/him an individual, with a sense of belonging, confidence, identity, pride, etc., are all encompassed in the family structure and impact on her/his interpersonal relationships in that unit.

There is an emphasis on the use of the family to solve problems internally. There is also a great deal of power given to males over females in a traditional Puerto Rican family and no decisions are made without the husband's permission. Spanish is almost always the language spoken in Puerto Rican families, while English is used more by the younger generation.

Impact on Client Behavior

- In seeking help, there is a tendency for Puerto Ricans to first approach family members, friends, neighbors, shopkeepers, campadre, or acquaintances who are at home; someone who is an authority or has expertise in the area of difficulty.
- The second group Puerto Ricans may approach for help include teachers, clergymen, or educated people who are neither in the client's own extended family or in the network of informal relationships.
- A person far down on the list of helpers would be the local spiritualist.
- A tendency to give over the problem person to an agency to take care of, but not give any support to that person from the family.
- A tendency to use the outside authority to serve as an arbitrator of family problems.

Appropriate Worker Response

- When dealing with a Puerto Rican client, especially women, explore the family support for the client's treatment.
- Explore the family's place of residence (the Island, the U.S. or both).
- Explore the family's expectations regarding the treatment process.
- Explore whether the client has been raised in an extended family, a nuclear family or broken family.
- Explore whether the client has ever been institutionalized.
- Explore whether there is a central male figure in the family, or whether this role is being assumed by a female.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Dealing with the client in isolation from the family
- Assuming that there is no pressure from the family for the client to continue or drop out of the program
- Presume that there is no central female or male figure in the home
- Failing to assess the place of residence of the family (Island or mainland)
- Moving right into family counseling without establishing confianza.
- Failing to assess the different roles of the individual members of the family with reference to traditional roles and values
- Failing to exercise authority or a paternal role depending on the status of the family.

Intervention Directions

- Establishing informal at home meetings with the family to develop rapport and confianza
- Assessing the roles of the individual members of the family, particularly with reference to the use or non-use of traditional roles

- Including the male authority figure of the family in all important decisions
- Reinforcing female headed households' accommodation of new roles and values
- Assessing the support or the non-support of treatment by the family, and the willingness to participate in family counseling
- Determining the dominant language used in communications within the family (Spanish, English, or both)
- Assessing the need for outside resources for the family (medicaid, foodstamps, welfare, dental, etc.).

RACE

Most Puerto Ricans view themselves ethnically, e.g. not as black, white, yellow, etc., but as Puerto Rican. Among Puerto Ricans, the racial distinctions may occur in terms of shades (degree of skin color), socio-economic status, and on the Island, geographic distinctions between cane growers and coffee growers, etc.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Client may adapt certain behaviors, such as speaking Spanish, to insure that he/she will not be identified as Black.
- On the other hand, the Puerto Rican client may identify with the Black community as a way to more easily assimilate into mainstream American society (to alleviate the identity crisis).

Appropriate Worker Response

- Understand and support the identification of the Puerto Rican client with other Puerto Ricans.
- Be aware of the racial identity crisis and the stress that American racism puts on the Puerto Rican who is dark skinned.
- Be aware that the Puerto Rican perspective is that the lighter skinned quality is more desirable.
- Be discrete when addressing the racial issues.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To assume that a dark skinned Puerto Rican will identify as a black person - and conversely, that a blond, blue eyed Puerto Rican will identify as a white person.

Intervention Directions

- Be sure to address the issues of race as they affect the client in everyday life; e.g. interpersonal relationships, discrimination, forming identity groups, etc.

LANGUAGE

Spanish for the Puerto Rican community is one of the more salient bending element of its society, through the language are transmitted the subtile of cultural values and traditions that make-up the Puerto Rican people.

Impact on Client Behavior

- If the client speaks Spanish primarily, there may be a reluctance to speak any English - even if broken English is spoken.

- If the client is bilingual, the client may choose to speak in English or Spanish.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Spanish speaking only:
  - Speak Spanish or get a translator.
  - If translator is used, interact primarily with the translator but do not ignore the client, especially if the client understands English.
- Bilingual:
  - Ask the client which language she/he prefers and then proceed based upon that preference.

Common Worker Mistake

- To assume that because English is understood, English is spoken
- To assume that the Puerto Rican client does not want to speak English due to laziness or inability to learn
- To force the person to respond in English; this may destroy the person's dignity because he/she feels that he/she will be seen as "stupid"
- To assume that the Puerto Rican client is fluent in English and/or Spanish
- To stereotype the Spanish sur-named person as only speaking Spanish

Intervention Directions

- Let the client know that you respect and admire his/her effort to speak (and learn) English - that you will not make fun of the clients efforts.
- Allow and encourage the person to use Spanish, but caution him/her to be aware of the impact of using only Spanish in an English - speaking environment.
- Help the client to use English more frequently if that is appropriate (refer to English as a second language (ESL) classes, etc.).

RELIGION

The Puerto Rican person is usually deeply religious, with a belief in the after life. There is also a degree of fatalism; e.g. "If this is the way things are, then it was meant to be by God." (acceptance of things as they are.)

- Religious beliefs fall into three major categories:
  - Spiritualism
    The belief that the physical world is subject to spiritual influence.
  - Catholicism
  - Protestant
    An increase of number of Puerto Ricans are embracing this religion. It involves ultra-traditional dress (no adornment, no cosmetics), deference to authority, rigid and restrictive environment.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Among more traditional persons (first generation), a tendency toward passivity and toward disowning responsibility for problems - accept hardship and "give up" on working to change (on the part of the client as well as of the family or other support systems).
- On the other hand, a second generation or more assimilated Puerto Rican would be more apt to attempt change (dealing with crisis or problems) and overcome the fatalistic attitude. ("ay benditor.") And perhaps to be relied upon by others as a person who can cope with diversity.
- Some clients use spiritual resources; e.g. persons in the community identified as spiritual leaders or engage in rituals that are designed to call upon the spiritual forces before using institutions, drug programs, etc.
- Strong religious identification - therefore, there may be strong guilt feelings around such things as premarital sex, abortion, etc. The client may tend to act based upon what he/she believes he/she "ought" to do; e.g. get married if permarital sex occurs.
- Potential for conflict between religious doctrine and peer group behavior.
- Problems may be taken care of in the family vs. in community agencies.
- A client in treatment may be experiencing a much greater sense of distance (and potential guilt) from family - especially the female because traditional roles are so strong.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Explore the religious conviction and affiliation of the person and how he/she actually practices his/her religious beliefs.
- Maintain a non-judgemental acceptance of client beliefs (e.g. do not accuse person of being "superstitious" or imply "weird" beliefs) if he/she subscribes to spiritualism or Santerismo.

Common Worker Mistakes

- To ridicule the client's beliefs
- To label the client with psychopathic terms e.g. schizophrenic, based upon descriptions of religious experience (e.g. "My guardian spirit spoke to me last night and told me to come to treatment.")
- To overlook dietary considerations and religious holidays such as Three Kings Day
- To suggest problem solving directions or "right" ways of thinking that are insensitive to the client's religious persuasion, e.g. abortion, birth control, premarital sex
- To assume that the client adheres to a commonly accepted practice; e.g. going to church every Sunday, etc.
- To assume that all Puerto Ricans are catholic.

Intervention Directions

- Where appropriate, incorporate and use the potential support of the person's religious community. For example, a client may choose to seek a spiritual counselor for what she/he considers spiritual problems, and to seek a mental health/social service resource for what she/he consider a "physical" problem.

- Be sure to address and explore the potential problems of the client stemming from the conflict between his/her actual behavior and his/her religious beliefs about what he/she "should" do.

- Where needed, get help distinguishing between instances where further psychiatric assessment is needed and where it is not.

- Help client understand that he/she can gain control over many aspects of his/her life.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY FIGURES AND INSTITUTIONS

The Puerto Rican client will exhaust familiar and secure avenues where he/she has established confianza before using social service agencies, treatment programs, etc. Informal avenues of treatment are:

- Extended family

- Godfather (compadrazgo)

- Priest, spiritualist.

The government services have become a part of the more familiar and used agencies (e.g. welfare), but there is a reluctance to use mental health systems because they are:

- Unfamiliar

- Have a language barrier

- Fantasized as viewing clients negatively (looking down on their poor English, their dress, the economic situation, etc.).

Since service deliverers in institutions are seen as authority figures by virtue of their role, the Puerto Rican will have expectations consistent with that authority.

NOTE: Beware that for a middle class Puerto Rican, reluctance to come to treatment may be related to not wanting to be negatively stereotyped.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Suspicious of the program - it is an unknown.

- Sees self as having less worth for having to come to the program; this may be exhibited by:

  - being very shy, submissive, doing and saying what is believed to be expected rather than what is really needed or felt, or

  - acting out to cover up insecurity - showing control but not feeling it (especially males), or

  - saying "I feel nervous," which is sometimes a reflection of underlying feelings of ambivalence toward being in the program. May be demonstrated further in forgetting appointments, delaying, procrastinating, looking for excuses, etc.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Build trust by:

  - using Spanish

  - speaking with a Puerto Rican worker if possible

- taking lots of time to explore treatment expectations and the client's expectations of you (begin at a very low key level, be indirect, touch on general areas and allow client to gradually build confianza).

- Conduct an initial interview in the client's home (if possible). A home visit is best if the worker is bilingual and Puerto Rican. (See also family issues under Traditional Roles.)

- Establish a home like atmosphere in the program, especially in the waiting room and intake areas. Offer refreshments; be hospitable, etc.

Common Worker Mistakes

- Immediate confrontation and expectation that the client will start out stating problems and feelings

- To assume that the Puerto Rican client is owning true feelings when it is simply out of respect for you as an authority figure

- To forget how much authority is invested in you and how literally you may be taken (especially where this may conflict with cultural norms).

Intervention Directions

- Initially, use the authority invested in you by virtue of your role as a tool to shape and guide the treatment/intervention process - but move toward a more equal relationship where the client can be honest, confront issues, clearly state his/her needs, etc.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS DRUGS

Traditionally (for the Puerto Rican parent) and for the lay person, "drugs" means heroin, marijuana, and illicit drugs.

To the young person, "drugs" means heroin; marijuana is not considered a drug.

Drug use and abuse is frowned upon - seen as destructive to the family unit. This is especially severe in the case of a female using drugs.

Alcohol is not viewed as a problem - it is more acceptable for a man to be seen drunk than a woman. The woman is viewed as a "woman of the streets" if seen drunk publicly.

Prescription drug use is not questioned since a doctor (an authority figure) has condoned the use.

Impact on Client Behavior

- Puerto Rican female clients may tend to show more remorse and guilt around their drug abuse than males. They will be more likely to shy away from treatment.

- A young person may resent being labeled a "dope addict" for marijuana use or use of drugs other than heroin.

- Treatment for alcohol abuse is rarely sought unless there is physical illness associated with it, such as cirrhosis.

Appropriate Worker Response

- Make sure to specify drug use you wish to determine (beyond heroin) when you start your relations with the client.

Common Worker Mistake

- To label the Puerto Rican as an "alcoholic" when alcohol use is not considered a problem by the client
- To label the Puerto Rican as a substance abuser before the client has come to an awareness of his/her drug use as a problem (thereby turning off the client)
- Stereotyping all Puerto Rican clients who come to treatment as heroin addicts.

Intervention Directions

- Especially with the young drug abuser, assist the family to understand the nature of substance abuse.
- Especially with the female abuser, help her to get a realistic perspective on the relationship of her drug use to her self worth.
- Educate the client about alcohol use and abuse and the potential dangers.

MODULE XI: SAMPLE CLIENT CASE STUDIES & INTERVENTION STRATEGIES

IME

Part I: 1 hour
Part II: 2 1/2 hours

PURPOSE

Purpose

This module is divided into two parts. Part I will assist you in incorporating the socio-cultural and historical information you have learned into a greater understanding of your Puerto Rican clients. The session will also help you in forming more appropriate attitudes towards Puerto Rican clients.

Part II provides you with an opportunity to apply what you have learned in analyzing a sample case study and preparing a strategy for intervention. The practice gained in this session will provide useful guidelines for your own work with Puerto Rican substance abusers.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this module you will be able to:

- Identify the central issues, problems or factors, seen in a sample case study, that may be related to the client's addiction and seem to have particular significance in light of the client's Puerto Rican background and culture.
- Prepare appropriate intervention strategies for the client in the case study.
- Discuss the relative merits and disadvantages of different intervention approaches and activities.
- Match the factors, issues, etc., identified from the case studies to the related socio-cultural problem area(s) that contribute to the substance abuse situation.

DESCRIPTION

Description

Through individual and small and large group work, you will have the opportunity to apply what you have learned throughout the program to case studies of Puerto Rican clients. You will be asked to identify those factors in the client's case study which might be related to the client's addiction and which might impact on the type(s) of intervention strategies to be used with the client. You will then be asked to identify some possible intervention strategies for use with the client, taking into consideration all that you have learned in this program.

MATERIALS

Materials

Included in this manual for use in this module are:

- List of some potential problem areas for the Puerto Rican substance abuser
- Instructions to trainees for client case studies activity.
- Case studies.

1. Maria
2. Carlos
3. Carmen

4. Ramon

SOME POTENTIAL PROBLEM AREAS FOR THE PUERTO RICAN SUBSTANCE ABUSER

Problem Area	Examples
1. Language	Inability to read and write clear English and/or Spanish; sub-standard conversational ability in English.
2. Shuttle Culture	Culture shock; ambivalence in the areas of language, culture and identity.
3. Employment	Lack of skills, discrimination in hiring and employment practices, unable to express oneself clearly in an interview.
4. Family Ties	Breakdown of extended family and its related support systems such as: lack of supervision of children; family authority structure; dignity; broken home; restrictive upbringing in conflict with American customs.
5. Changing Roles	Parents dependent on their children to interpret the English language and the U.S. society in general; increasing female assertiveness; marital roles changing.
6. Sexuality, Machismo and Virginity Cult	Male jealousy and distrust of females; double sexual standards; female expected to be submissive/passive; extreme importance placed on virginity; female negative self-image.
7. Race	Identity conflict (U.S. white vs. black categorization vs. Puerto Rican ethnicity); shade discrimination within the Puerto Rican community; racial prejudice from the external community.
8. Environmental Factors	From rural upbringing to urban environment; reliance on spiritismo vs. medical science.

PUERTO RICAN HISTORY & CULTURE
CLIENT CASE STUDIES ACTIVITY
INSTRUCTIONS TO TRAINEES

You have been given: (1) a sheet that lists Some Potential Problem Areas for the Puerto Rican Substance Abuser; and (2) a Sample Case History.

1. Read your Sample Case History carefully. As you read, underline the key phrases that indicate central issues, problems or factors from the history that you think may be related to your client's addiction and seem to have particular significance because of your client's Puerto Rican background and culture.

2. Now look at the list, Some Potential Problem Areas for the Puerto Rican Substance Abuser. This list describes eight key socio-cultural problem areas that Puerto Ricans living in the U.S. may face and that may lead to and/or compound a substance abuse situation.

   a. Which of these problem areas do you think are related to your client's problem (causes, contributing factors, present problems, etc.)?

   b. Write the number(s) of the related problem area(s) in the column marked Response beside each issue that you underlined.

3. In the Comments column, add any extra remarks you'd like, for example, to explain your answer, or points you'd like to clarify in discussion.

Small Group Activity

4. When every member of your group has finished, discuss your answers with each other. See if you can agree on the key factors and related problem areas affecting your client.

5. Discuss possible treatment plans or interventions you feel might be appropriate for your client. List some goals and activities you would recommend for this client.

6. Sum up your group's responses on newsprint for presentation to the rest of the program participants. List briefly:

   a. the key factors and problem areas

   b. your treatment/intervention goals and activities.

7. Select someone to speak for your group to present your case and discuss your ideas.

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SAMPLE CLIENT CASE HISTORY

Puerto Rican History & Culture

CASE: Maria	Response	Comments

The following is an excerpt of an interview which took place between a Puerto Rican ex-addict and a clinical psychologist studying drug abuse among Puerto Ricans. It is not a therapeutic interaction. Maria, now successfully rehabilitated, is reflecting back on some of the reasons for her involvement with drugs and her experiences growing up. What insights can you gain from this woman's view of the socio-cultural factors affecting Puerto Rican drug abuse? What specific treatment plans might you have recommended for Maria when she was a drug abuser? (M = Maria; I = Interviewer)

I: Maria, let's talk about why you think Puerto Ricans become involved with drugs.

M: Okay, but I must say one thing: I'm not really speaking for any group of people; these are my own individual theories, my own individual thoughts.

I: Why don't you first tell me how you got into drugs.

M: Well, I started using dope when I was twelve.

I: What kind of dope?

M: Everything. Demies, speed. . .

I: Why?

M: That's a weird question. I was put into a girls' home when I was twelve. The girls were smoking dope, smoking cigarettes, dropping pills. They did it; I did it.

I: Why did they do it?

M: To get loaded.

I: Why did they want to get loaded?

M: I don't know all of the psychological reasons, but I can tell you some of the other reasons. We were locked up in a girls' home. The fact was that somehow we had been rejected by our parents or captured by the state.

I: Why did you get into doing heroin?

M: I didn't start shooting heroin until I was 21. By then I had been through all of the psychedelics and about a three-year run on

CASE: Maria	Response	Comments

M: methamphetamine, which ended me up in the nuthouse, really totally out of it. I was living with a guy and another couple who were dealing heroin and cocaine. Now my thing, up to that point, had been speed and if they hadn't mixed it with cocaine I probably never would have tried it because I didn't like downers.

I: Why did you like speed?

M: I think I was basically really lazy and I liked to accomplish a lot of things, and I like speeding. I liked all of that.

I: It made you feel confident?

M: Yeah, and I didn't used to be confident. I was really most of my life battling against being lazy, lethargic. I was also kind of heavy and people were always teasing me, so the first drug I ever took was diet pills (because my sister was trying to get me to lose weight). I discovered that in addition to taking my appetite away, the pills helped me to do all of those things that I had to do that I never felt like doing, like washing the dishes and mopping the floor.

But back to heroin. My husband was a musician; he was on the road a lot . . . While he was gone I discovered that I could get loaded on heroin and I wouldn't be thinking about sex so much. And I was really being faithful to him because I wasn't really turning tricks. My hustle then was selling weed and pills and that kind of thing. Until I became a prostitute, I really believed that prostitution would keep me from enjoying sex with my old man. Then I discovered I was wrong.

I: So you kind of just drifted into taking heroin?

M: Yeah. The couple living there would say "You want some?" and I would say "No." Finally, I said "Yes." It was kind of a bad time in my life, but I don't know if that had anything to do with it or not. I don't really know.

I: Like if you hadn't been exposed to it, you might not have used it?

M: Well, I had been exposed to it all of my life, but I had always said if I ever shot dope, I'd be the biggest dope fiend in town and I didn't want to do that.

CASE: Maria	Response	Comments

I: Then what made you start when you did?

M: I don't know. My old man was gone a lot; I was alone; I wasn't working much of the time . . .

I: What were you doing?

M: I was a cocktail waitress. My husband had taken my son. That was a big responsibility that was taken away from me. All of a sudden I didn't have to be there 24 hours a day. I could relax sometimes. With my son there I couldn't get loaded because I had the responsibility of a small child. Then when he was gone it was a little harder to leave it alone. Once you get used to getting loaded, once it's okay, it's pretty hard to place a period on what you used to get loaded. "Well, I will take this and I won't take that," etc. Unless you try it and don't like it. But, I've never gotten loaded on anything that I didn't like. Prior to 1969, everything that I ever tried I loved.

I: People say you don't feel any anxiety when you're on dope. You don't think about anything?

M: Yeah. You feel anxiety, "Boy, I'm going to be out sick. . ." But that's all.

I: When you're loaded, you don't even feel that?

M: Of course you don't think about it when you're loaded, because you're loaded, right?

One time I went back to drugs because I was in a lot of pain from an unhappy relationship. I knew that medication would get me through. It never occurred to me to go into therapy or to take tranquilizers or take transactional analysis. . .I went back to my old system, the system that I was familiar with. I can remember very vividly thinking, "Women who don't shoot dope and go through this mess with men are insane." And I went back and didn't even try to stop for two years. I just wanted to be tranquilized. I didn't want to feel nothing for nobody.

Let me tell you a phenomenon that I ran across that I really hadn't paid attention to before. In New York, there are a lot of working addicts. They maintain a job through their whole life, and then maybe fix on the weekends.

I: And that's it?

CASE: Maria	Response	Comments

M: Yeah. The first dope fiend I ever met in my life had a job. And three of five I met after that worked all the time, dealt dope, so it wasn't a matter of hustling, but they controlled it.

I: Well, why do they get loaded?

M: Because it feels good. It feels better than alcohol, it feels better than weed. Some people get off of work and on the weekends all they do is smoke weed and party, right?

I: Right.

M: Well, some people party with stuff and can handle it for years--twenty years. I couldn't believe it--I wasn't that kind of addict. But they're out there and there's a lot of them. I was really even shocked one time to hear one program person say that every six months he's got to get loaded.

I: Maria, do you think that maybe Puerto Ricans use drugs for different reasons than Anglos use drugs?

M: I think so.

You're made to feel very inadequate in this society as a Puerto Rican. First of all, you don't speak the language properly. Second of all, you're never given the kinds of jobs, or the job skills, or the education. And the only time that you can feel adequate in this society, which judges you on how much money you have, is when you hustle. And that's the only outlet you have. So Puerto Ricans, if they do use, not only feel adequate through the drug but feel adequate because they have a hustle. Whether it's a good role or a bad role or whatever you want to call it, they maintain their manhood.

I: Let's talk more about the feelings of inadequacy. What about language and education?

M: It's so difficult to get the basics with the language confusion that Puerto Ricans have a 50 percent high school dropout rate today. And bilingual education is a new idea. If you don't have the basics it makes it literally impossible to compete in the school system. If you can't read, you can't make it past the seventh, eighth, or the ninth grade. And if that English stuff isn't in your head good, it's hard.

: You're not given the basics of either language. Every day you speak both languages depending on whom you're talking to. In my family you spoke two languages in every sentence. The only time that we ever spoke only English was when there was somebody in the house that couldn't understand Spanish.

Growing up Puerto Rican

I: Let's go back to the traditional role of the Puerto Rican. The traditional attitude toward her. What were you taught to expect when you grew up?

M: I was raised to believe that I should get married, have children, keep my house clean, take care of my kids, take care of my husband. When my husband came home I should have dinner on the table for him. My family should be my whole life. And the thought of a career, or of going to school, or having anything outside of my home should always be secondary. In my neighborhood women didn't even belong to the PTA. They were home cooking, sewing, and cleaning their house—and not watching T.V. either. That's the kind of role I was brought up to expect. By the time I was eight I could cook for my whole family. Those kinds of things were what women were taught and that was their role.

You were taught to obey your father and your brother. And when you got married you listened to brother-in-law, and in many, many ways that's still in there. In many ways I still feel the need to have a significant other person I can love, give to, and take care of, and who will be someone I can obey. It's weird, but it's true. Although I can fight it and I'm very independent, and I don't live with anybody and nobody tells me what to do very often, I stop and think about it: that would make me happy. Because somehow or another when you clean up you want to go back to being good and that means something back in your childhood. It doesn't mean what you have been doing, and most of the time it doesn't mean a career because that's not a part of your upbringing.

When you get clean, you're all of a sudden having to be totally responsible for taking care of a lot of business, and nine times out of ten you have kids. All of a sudden you've got to make appointments, you've got to find a babysitter, you've got to catch a bus here and know your way around the city, and you're not used to that. You're used to somebody

M: picking you up and taking you somewhere, or staying home. All of a sudden you've got to really be a superperson. And that requires a lot of confidence and initiative and ability. You've got to become self-activated to pick up the telephone and dial the transit information number and find out how to get there on the bus. You've got to know that that's what you do in order to get somewhere and you can't wait around for people to take you places.

I: Or having someone take care of you, too?

M: Yeah.

I: Do you see any changes taking place in the role of the Puerto Rican woman?

M: There's a change happening because the whole society is changing and it's affecting all of us. It's not just affecting Anglo women or Black women, it's affecting the Puerto Rican culture, too. Whether we like it or not, part of the change is the new freedom that women are feeling and Puerto Ricans are being touched.

I: What kind of new freedom?

M: Well, when the money changes hands and it gets spread and more people have more money, women are economically independent; they automatically have a whole lot more freedom than they've ever had before.

I: How is this affecting the Puerto Rican man?

M: I think they're feeling very threatened. I think they're feeling insecure. I'm afraid we're taking away the traditions and the values and we have nothing of value to replace them and I don't like that.

I: The women are becoming more assertive. . .?

M: They have always been assertive and taken care of business and been responsible, and they've always done a lot of work, but recently they've become more verbal with it. Before it was just doing it that counted, and now they're starting to compete. And that's not always an easy life to live. It gets to be pretty lonely.

I: Why does it get to be lonely? People don't associate with you? Men don't want you? Why does it get to be lonely?

M: That's right. You become a threat. You

CASE: Maria	Response	Comments
M: become confident, you become confident, you become verbal. . .I don't really know. I know that when I first started working in the drug abuse field, I saw around 15-20 professional Puerto Rican women around working in all different fields. And they had an association of Latin American Women and we got together and we talked about several things like why most of them are married to Anglo men, why they aren't married to Puerto Ricans. And I was scared because at that time I was married and I didn't want to lose my marriage, which eventually I ended up doing. I was really concerned with why the few ones that were married were married to Anglos and the rest of them were divorced. And my first questions to them were, "What's happened here, man? How come you're not married to Puerto Ricans? How come you're all divorced? What is the phenomenon that's going on?" and they were saying that it was really hard to get through the traditional role that you break when you become a professional and become confident and still stay with a Puerto Rican man.		

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SAMPLE CLIENT CASE HISTORY

Puerto Rican History & Culture

CASE: Carlos	Response	Comments

Carlos is a short man of Puerto Rican background; his face is somewhat puffy and sallow. He affects dark glasses and looks tense and troubled. He first became addicted through his older brother who was a drug user and had many "fine" friends. One time Carlos threatened to squeal on his older brother (who was sixteen at the time). In order to prevent being exposed, the older brother decided to involve Carlos in his addiction. Carlos looked up to his brother and his friends; they were like idols to him. They affected an aloof manner and dressed well, and he tried to imitate them since it was something new and "cool."

Looking back now, he can single out the first invitation coming from his brother, but the reasons for continuing with drugs were related to complexes developed during puberty. Carlos felt very uncomfortable in the "cage of self" and was not at all sure of his image as a man or woman. He became preoccupied, even obsessed, with the question, spending long hours before the mirror. He was worried about his body and wished he had hair on his chest and other kinds of proof that he was indeed a man. Being with the older boys and being accepted by them helped allay some of his anxiety.

He was a chubby boy, and this annoyed him because it was associated in his mind with femininity. He was also bothered greatly because he felt that he had a small penis. Furthermore, he felt his breast nipples were enlarged, and this, too, was a feminine trait. Strangely enough, he said he looked at homosexuals, noted that some of them had muscles and no nipples, and he envied them. It is interesting that Carlos should have singled out homosexuals as objects of admiration or envy. He said he wished he had been created differently, not so chubby, and wondered why God had not given him a body like that of these homosexuals. (Was he perhaps confusing homo- and heterosexual?) He went to extremes; he bought barbells and spent long hours trying to develop his musculature and physical appearance to a more masculine image.

In discussing his primary family (which I pointed out he had blocked out in his discussion), he thought his mother had contributed to his addiction unknowingly. Although he covered this up, it was apparent that he suffered from Oedipal conflicts. But he was unable to consider such a possibility and blamed his mother for being "seductive." He pointed out, for example, that after his brother's death, she left $5.00 around for him each morning, knowing that he would use it to get off on drugs. He justified this on the basis that she was afraid he might get arrested, wind up in jail, and die like his brother did before him. (He'd overdosed in jail.) There was evidence that she was over-protective and covered up for him in relation to his father, as well.

Both parents were ignorant of drugs and unable to cope when they first learned about their sons' use. They reacted with anger and sadness, and the father once said to him, "Let me try it so I'll see what you find in it." Carlos said he told his father that there was no way of generalizing about how anybody becomes a drug addict; it's very individual." There was no way of telling how anyone gets off on drugs, either, since this, too, "is unique and individual."

Prior to this, his mother had consistently blocked out any knowledge of their drug use, although all the signs were right under her nose. Carlos said he felt especially related to his father and was his favorite; while his brother was his mother's favorite. His father was a rather strong person who worked in an unskilled factory occupation. He drank a great deal and could be termed a semi- or complete alcoholic--although he could stop himself when the occasion demanded. His nerves were not always up to par as a result, and he frequently argued with his son about his use of drugs, although he failed to see the similarity in his own use of alcohol.

Although Carlos is not an overt homosexual, many things in his life have diminished his sexual drive, and to a degree, have made him vulnerable to the kind of street life he's been exposed to since he came from Puerto Rico as a young child. He had great difficulty learning English, and generally has very little understanding of the American scene. He tends to fall asleep when things get too complicated for him. . . and they often do! Though he went to high school, he can barely read English and cannot read Spanish at all.

I overheard two older addicts insist once that he stop using drugs because he just didn't have the caliber to be an addict! They informed him in no uncertain terms that he was just too stupid, weak, and cowardly; and they argued that if he had any sense at all, he'd stop using drugs. Carlos is the sort of person who will get a job, and when he comes home with the pay on Friday night he will be jumped by addicts and forced to give up part or all of his money. He will bluster and threaten, but no one will take him seriously, least of all himself.

CASE: Carlos	Response	Comments
At home nowadays, Carlos finds that his father is down on him and scornfully regards him as an inept nuisance who may steal the family tape recorder or his father's watch and pawn them rather than steal on the outside where the chance of being arrested is much greater. The father will rant and rave and threaten to have him arrested, but in the end be dissuaded by Carlos' mother who has always (as he says) spoiled him. Carlos describes the process of becoming an addict as one of being gulled into a pattern he knew nothing about by someone who played upon his desire to be important. Nobody thinks Carlos is important; and he's found that, at most, he can get a small measure of respect from a girl by using his good looks. But even that's gotten him into trouble. It once ended up with an unexpected pregnancy, and to make things worse, the mother of the girl involved did not like his dark color and spread around scandalous rumors about him. After a number of tries, Carlos stayed off drugs for several months, first under the pressure of the law and later under the influence of a girlfriend. However, when she left him, he ended his period of abstinence and started the downward spiral again.		

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SAMPLE CLIENT CASE HISTORY

Puerto Rican History & Culture

CASE: Carmen	Response	Comments

According to Carmen, she has been a drug addict for five years. She has two brothers, both are drug addicts, but the younger has not used drugs in two years, and has moved out of the state to get away from the drug scene. Her parents are living together. They are aware of their children's use of drugs. The mother is very passive, yet very strict. The father, formerly a boxer in Puerto Rico, is now a longshoreman. Fifteen years ago, the mother worked as a garment sorter; but she hasn't worked since then because she is illiterate and cannot speak English. "She is a typical Puerto Rican housewife," as Carmen puts it, "All her life she's been in the house, taking care of us children. She's been brought up that way, in the house." Her mother has been married four times. She had three daughters by her former husbands, but all the children died. With Carmen's father, she has borne three boys, all of whom died as babies. The two brothers she now claims are from another woman when her father remained behind in Puerto Rico many years ago before he could join his wife and baby daughter (Carmen) in New York.

Growing up, Carmen was a beautiful young woman. Her father was afraid to send her to the local high school because he feared her good looks would get her into trouble and she'd lose her virginity. But he agreed to let her go, because she had been a good girl and knew how to protect herself. (He'd taught her how to box.) Carmen began to hang out at lunchtime in the corner candy store and meet other young people. Two boys her age began to court her, but she repulsed their advances at first, because they were white Puerto Ricans (she is dark) and she wanted to finish school. Most important, she said, "My father would kill me if he knew I was going out with boys." Johnnie, the leader of the group finally convinced Carmen to go steady. When her mother found out, she saw this as a threat to Carmen's virginity, and became hysterical, slapped her several times, and told her she was acting like a common puta (whore). Carmen was severely humiliated. After that, she was only allowed to see Johnnie under the strictest conditions.

They continued to see each other secretly; Johnnie went to work and bought Carmen a set of wedding rings. When her father found out, he made her mother take them away and scolded her in front of all her peers. Carmen reacted by cutting school. She talked Johnnie into having intercourse with her, thinking that then they would have to get married. Her mother caught them in the stairway and a melee resulted. Carmen came to blows with her mother (a mortal sin in her eyes) and ran away with Johnnie.

After they were married, Johnnie and Carmen went to live in a hotel room with a friend of his who was hiding out from the police because he'd just finished "cutting a man's face." He liked Johnnie very much, and he didn't want Carmen's father to find out about him. So every day he paid five dollars rent for the hotel room they were staying in. . . plus providing most of their food.

Johnnie went out and found another job in the garment center. He was only making $50.00 a week and he hated the work. He also didn't want to leave Carmen alone in the hotel with his friend. He didn't trust him; he told Carmen that his friend was a sex maniac and that he was "looking at her too much." So he got in touch with a Cuban woman that his family knew and they moved in with her.

Carmen felt the Cuban lady likes her very much. But, as she put it, "I was ashamed, because I was the only dark one inside her apartment. Everybody else was white, including Johnnie and I was dark complexioned, and I felt embarrassed and ashamed of myself, because I was very ignorant at the time. I didn't know that white people can really care for dark people. I thought they didn't like us."

But after a while, Johnnie got restless again and they moved in with other friends. They were using drugs. . .and Carmen learned later they were selling too. . .the hard way. They were all busted one night. They took Carmen in too—they didn't believe she really was innocent and as surprised as could be. Jail was a humiliating experience for her. It was days before she was out. Apparently it was like that for a long time--moving from one place to another. . .picking up whatever work came along. Finally Johnnie got a regular job in a warehouse loading freight.

Carmen continued her story this way:

"We had been married for five years, and I was twenty-one when I went to dope. It was after the second child was born. Sometimes Johnnie would come home from work happy, and sometimes he would start a fight with me. And I'd answer him back. Then he'd hit me, and I'd hit him back, because that's one thing I never stood for: getting hit.

Sometimes we fought because Johnnie was very jealous. Just one week after I had my second child

CASE: Carmen	Response	Comments
and got out of the hospital, we needed more money and I went to work at a photo studio in order to help him out. I don't know why he was jealous of me. He had no reason. . .I never went out with other men. I went to work early, and as soon as I finished, I would come home to my children. After my second child was born, I moved into the Lillian Wald projects. I'll never forget it, because I had an apartment of my own for the first time in my life. That's why I went to work, to have everything I needed—because I've always wanted to have everything expensive and good for my own. One day Johnnie accused me of making a date with a boy he saw me talking to in the street. The boy only wanted a job at the place where I work. I said, 'Goddamnit, Johnnie, you're always fighting. . .you're always jealous. Maybe if I do the wrong thing you'd be happy, right?' Just because I said that, he slapped me in the face. And wow, baby, I let him have it! He got mad and punched me in the stomach. It wasn't even forty days since I'd had my baby, and I had to bend down, because I couldn't even breathe. When I got up, I kicked him in the middle of the legs. He started screaming and throwing everything around the house. He tore off my clothes, so I had to run through the street in my slip to get to my father's house, four blocks away. I was bleeding from my stomach, cars were stopping, but I just kept on running."		

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SAMPLE CLIENT CASE HISTORY

Puerto Rican History & Culture

CASE: Ramon	Response	Comments

Ramon, a pleasant-looking rather chubby, twenty-eight year old man, had come to the center for drug abuse counseling.

He began by saying that he came to this country from Puerto Rico when he was still a baby and lived in the "Barrio" at 110th Street and Madison Avenue. This is a very rough neighborhood; but his parents had no choice, since they were quite poor at the time. When Ramon was ten years old, his father passed away and life became doubly hard. He missed his father, with whom he had been rather close. His mother had to spend her time working, so he had nobody around and little supervision for most of the day. His mother paid another woman to take care of him, but half the time she didn't show up or she let him do whatever he wanted.

When he was twelve, a crisis occurred for him when he learned for the first time that these were not his real parents, but rather a maternal aunt and her husband. This aunt had been unable to have children of her own, and his natural parents had surrendered him to her "even before he was born." Ramon's natural father had been a Nationalist in Puerto Rico and on the run all the time, so that it was inconvenient for them to have a child then. Later, however, they had two children; but they made no effort to get him, which he resented. He thought that he must have been a bastard, or at least unloved, for them to have given him away when he was born. When his natural parents moved to New York, they found it necessary to live with the aunt for a while. The conflict grew in Ramon's mind while they were in the same house. He looked to his aunt as his real mother. . . but he was uncomfortable about it.

A psychiatrist suggested that Ramon had felt abandoned, and this might be a factor in his addiction. But he was not sure this was true. Ramon reported that he began using pot because it gave him a "social feeling."

Unsupervised and on his own so much as a boy, he wanted especially to be identified with the older "heroin boys," to be part of, and accepted by them. They were important, respected. . . they had the clothes and the girlfriends.

After high school, Ramon entered the Navy. He began getting into drugs more in the Navy and eventually got busted in a drug-related scrape. His naval career ended, he returned to New York

CASE: Ramon	Response	Comments

where his troubles multiplied. Ramon tells it this way:

"Seems like I couldn't get used to workin' on shore, because I was so used to sailing for five years, and that was all I knew, how to work at sea. And now I find myself working eight hours a day over here, and the demand on me was so strong. . .and I wasn't getting paid enough money, and I don't see no consideration from the bosses. Maybe I was workin' for the wrong people, I don't know. Anyway, at that time, if you're Spanish, and there's a job open for you, you're supposed to work the fingers to the bone. . .without no consideration, like if you was a work horse, or something! And I noticed this attitude and bein' that my fellow. . .uh. . ."citizens". . . us. . .(laughs). . .my own Spanish-speaking people, we were bein' treated in such a way--they couldn't say "boo" because they didn't even know the language. And it just so happens that I worked for quite a few factories that had people that came from Puerto Rico and different places and didn't speak English at all, and they were workin' for few dollars, they wasn't getting paid half the time. Actually, the type of product that they came out with, they wasn't getting paid as they should--I don't think it was fair.

I'm not used to working like this, eight hours and not makin' enough money. On board ship I was makin' enough money. I wasn't workin' eight hours either. I was gettin' consideration and I was. . .I even had retirement. I could foresee retirement if I had stayed on at twenty years, just like other civil working employees. I had those benefits or somethin. . .and now I find myself that I messed up my record. I can't go back to the sea; the army base didn't want me either. I sent an application when I came out of Riker's Island the last time, and they send it back 'Sorry, we don't have any place open. . . for your type of work. Please try to find employment someplace else.' Politely they told me they didn't want me and they marked down on my application. . .marked a circle around the question that says 'Have you been arrested?' and they say I was arrested, on the appliation. So they won't take me any more. . .it's out, the government is out; I took my retirement pay, which I had there, and that did it. I'm not connected any longer with the army base. Now I have to shift over here, with the city, and I have to cope with city life."

MODULE XII

WRAP-UP, ASSESSMENT, EVALUATION, & CLOSURE

IME 1 1/2 hours

PURPOSE

Purpose

The purposes of this session are:

- To wrap-up the discussion of the material and explore any areas that were not covered in the program
- To give the final assessment
- To have you evaluate the program in a written and/or oral manner
- To say farewell to all participants.

DESCRIPTION

Description

Wrap-Up: Through discussion, any areas not yet explored can be covered, and the main points of the program can be gone over.

Final Assessment: You will have an opportunity to check your understanding of the material of the program in a written form.

Evaluation: You will have the opportunity to give the trainer(s) written and/or oral feedback on various aspects of the program and its applicability to your work.

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APPENDIX A

REFERRALS, REFERENCES AND ADDITIONAL READINGS

PUERTO RICAN TREATMENT AGENCIES

Only recently have Puerto Rican conceived and operated programs evolved in the communities with substantial numbers of Puerto Rican drug abusers. These programs, although slow in developing, eventually came about because of a realization that standard programs, regardless of their technical "modality," failed to meet the specific needs of Puerto Rican clients. Specially tailored programs now exist in many parts of the country. Except in areas with heavy concentrations of Puerto Ricans (such as New York City), these programs are not exclusively Puerto Rican, either in staff, orientation or clientele, but there is a dominant Puerto Rican presence.

These programs understand the cultural differences of Puerto Rican clients and incorporate them into their treatment milieu. Program personnel, understanding these cultural nuances can appeal to them or point out problems inherent within them. These programs offer a broad range of support--counseling, family counseling, job placement, etc.--all within the client's chosen environment.

Puerto Rican-oriented programs provide a wide range of treatment modalities, though there has recently been a tendency to curtail methadone maintainance or other chemotherapy. What particular type of programs are available in a given locale, or even whether a Puerto Rican oriented program is available at all, will differ from city to city.

The following is a list of Puerto Rican-oriented programs throughout the nation:

NORTH END DRUG ABUSE
2345 Main Street
Springfield, Mass. 01107

PHOENIX HOUSE
253 West 73rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

PRIMERA PARADA
19-A Ripley Street
Worcester, Mass. 01610

PROJECT CONTACT-PRIDE SITE
371 East 10th Street
New York, N.Y. 10009

PROCEED
301 Elizabeth Avenue
Elizabeth, N.J. 07206

PROJECT ERAH
33 Charter Oak Place
Hartford, Conn. 06106

PROJECT RETURN
443 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

P.R.O.M.E.S.A.
1776 Clay Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10457

PUERTO RICAN HISPANIC YOUTH
216 West 102nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

RENAISSANCE PROJECT, INC.
481 Main Street
New Rochelle, N.Y. 10801

RESURRECTION REHAB. CENTER
1216 Hoe Avenue
Bronx, N.Y. 10459

SAMARITAN HALFWAY HOUSE
118-21 Queens Blvd.
Forest Hills, N.Y. 11375

ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL DETOX PROGRAM
Amsterdam & 114th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025

LINCOLN HOSP. DETOX PRO.
349 East 140th St.
Bronx, N.Y. 10454

TASC PROGRAM-COOK CO. D.
1439 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60605

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
810 East 152nd Street
Bronx, New York 10455

TASC PROGRAM (COP) DADE CO.
1321 N.W. 13th Street
Miami, Fla. 33125

EXODUS HOUSE
309 E. 103rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10029

ANDROMEDA
1823 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

BASTA
728 West 17th Place
Chicago, Ill. 60613

CENTRO de CAMBIC
3007 24th St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94110

CENTRO PAIAN
520 West Lehigh Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19133

CONCILIO HUMAN SERV.
656 Massachusetts Ave.
Boston, Mass. 02118

CROSSROADS, INC.
48 Howe Street
New Haven, Conn. 06501

C.U.R.A., Inc.
75 Lincoln Park
Newark, N.J. 07102

IBERO-AMERICAN ACTION
21-27 Philander St.
Rochester, N.Y. 14605

ESPADA, INC.
219 E. 115th Street
New York, N.Y. 10029

MORA NARCOTIC REHAB. FOUND.
1230 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10028

ENTER, INC.
254 E. 112th St.
New York, N.Y. 10029

EVANSTON COMPREHENSIVE DR.
2040 Brown Avenue
Evanston, Ill. 60201

GAUDENZIA, INC.
39 E. School House Lane
Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

HISPANIC AMER. COUNCIL INC.
313 N.W. 35th St.
Miami, Fla. 33127

HISPANIC COALITION OF FLA..
553 N.W. 35th St.
Miami, Fla. 33127

HISPANIC COUNSELING CTR.
95 Main Street
Hempstead, N.Y. 11550

HOGAR CREA, INC.
14 E. 60th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

HOGAR CREA, INC.
St. 848 Km. C9 Box 547
Saint Just, Puerto Rico

JOINT DRUG PROGRAM
1028 S. 9th Street
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53204

LAKE SHORE CORP. IV
104 Maryland Street
Buffalo, N.Y. 14201

LAS VEGAS FAMILY ABUSE CTR.
3929 Chang Street
Las Vegas, Nevada 89110

LATINO DRUG COUNSELING CTR.
612 West National Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53204

LATINO YOUTH DRUG INTERV.
1809 S. Loomist Street
Chicago, Ill. 60608

LINCOLN COMM. MENTAL HLTH
781 East 140th St.
Bronx, New York 10454

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If you have difficulty in finding these books in the library, they can be purchased at the following bookstores:

Libro Libre
200 W. 14th St.
New York, N.Y. 10011

Macondo Bookstore
221 W. 14th St.
New York, N.Y. 10011

Puerto Rican Heritage Publications
157 W. 14th Street
New York, N.Y. 10011

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS FROM DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS

Vocabularly and Common Expressions that can be Traced to the Indian Heritage

aji	tropical chile or red pepper ponerse como un aji - to blush ser mas bravo que el aji - to be brave
anamu	wild grass
atambor	drum
atol	corn flour mush
ausubo	a tree of excellent hard wood duro como el ausubo - as hard as the ausubo
batey	backyard, patio
batea	tray, tub
bohio	Indian hut
balaju	a variety of fish mas flaco que un balaju - as thin as a thread
barbacoa	barbecue
batata	yam
batatita	a cinch con su batatita - with his sure deed
batatero	someone who takes advantages of a situation
bejuco	a large climbing plant embejucarse - to allow someone to creep up on you; to creep up on someone; to bind
bija	(achiote), a special kind of tree; the seed is used as dye or as a condiment embijarse - to paint oneself
Boricua	a Puerto Rican
Borinquen, Boriken	The name given to the Island of Puerto Rico by the Taino Indians
borinquena (borinqueno)	a Puerto Rican
bucare	a shade tree that has vivid flowers, native to the Island of Puerto Rico
cacao	chocolate
cacique	chief of the Indian Tribe cacique de barrio - boss, chief

caculo	a species of insect
caculear	to flirt; to be a party hopper
caney	an Indian cabin; a house
canoa	canoe
Caribe	Indian from the Caribbean region
casabe	cassava
ceiba	a variety of large tree
cemi	Indian idol
coa	a primitive hoe
cobo	mollusk
caoba	mahogany tree and its wood
corozo	native tropical palm covered with thorns estar como un corozo - in sound health
chicha	fermented beverage made from corn or fruits ni chicha ni limona - neither good nor bad
cita	receptacle made out of the Indian fig tree
enagua	underskirt or petticoat
encabullar	to tie with hemp cord
desguabinado	one who lacks elegance, untidy, messy
guaba	tree used for shading the coffee shrub
guacamayo	macaw
guanabana	custard apple
guaracha	Caribbean dance
guares	twins
guayaba	guava (tree and fruit) que guayaba! - what a lie!
guayacan	medicinal tree
guayo	grater coger un guayo - to get drunk guayarle el duco - to scratch someone, to demerit
guiro	bottle gourd used as a musical instrument cabeza de guiro - empty-headed
hamaca	hammock

hayaca	a food made with grated corn and meat and cooked wrapped in corn leaves
jagua	crab jaberia - a shrewd act
jibaro	peasant, hillbilly ajibararse - to acquire peasant customs para un jibaro otro jibaro y para dos el diablo - for one hillbilly another hillbilly, and for both of them, the devil jibaro envuelto - stuffed plantain dish
jicotea	turtle
jobo	a variety of fruit comer jobos - to play hooky come jobos - one who plays hooky
juey	land crab come jueyes - a native hacerse el juey - to play dumb
mabi	a beverage made from the bark of a tree subir como la espuma del mabi - to be successful
macana	club cudgel macanudo - in excellent shape, groovy
maiz	maize, corn es como echarle maiz a la agua, a cinch
maicena	mush made out of refined corn flour
mamey	a kind of tree and its fruit
mangle	mangrove tree, a kind of shrub that grows in swamps
maraca	maraca, a musical instrument
marota	mush
mime	a variety of insect caerle mimes - to be annoyed, bothered
mona	funny imitator
nigua	flea
papaya	papaw, pawpaw, papaya
piragua	crushed ice with fruit flavor; Italian ice
pitirre	a bird cada pitirre tiene su zumbador - everyone is bound to meet his match cada guaraguao tiene su pitirre - everyone no matter how big, has his enemy
guenepa	honeyberry
sabana	grassy plain, meadow
soruca	fight, brawl

tabaco	tobacco
tabonuco	medicinal plant
taino	Taino Indian
tayote	chayote, a variety of fruit esta jincho como tayote - to be very pale atayotao - sick looking
tiburon	shark
yagua	royal palm El que esculca (busca) yaguas, viegas, siempre encuentra cucarachas - He who doesn't let sleeping does lie will surely be bitten
yautia	a variety of tuber plant
yegua	mare
yuca	yucca
huracan	hurricane

Vocabularly That Can Be Traced to The African Heritage

ambombao	putrid smell in water or any liquid
Angola	a slave from Angola
bemba	thick lips bembudo, bembon, bembeteo - gossip
cachimbo	smoking pipe
calalu	food of the old slaves made of different vegetables with salt, vinegar and lard
callajabo	a variety of medicinal plants
candungo	container made with the marimbo fruit
Carabali	Black from the Calibar coast
cocorioco	an ugly person (said in a witty or humorous tone)
cocoroco	an important person, a big shot
cogioca	graft, profits obtained through dubious means estar en la cogioca - to be on the take, to take bribes
Congo	Black from the Congo
chalungo	thin and slow horse
chamba	by coincidence, luck
changa	a variety of insect which damages plants by eating their roots

changa	hidden motives or bad intention in another person; conceited or artificial behavior; to be frivolous and flirtatious
chango	black bird; a show-off
cheche	browbeater, rougher
chevere	good, excellent, groovy
chimba	a bunch of firewood covered with burned leaves and soil
chongo	thin and slow horse
dengue	a strong head cold
fufu	witchcraft, enchantment
funche	mush of corn flour with salt and water
gandules	food grain, pigeon peas
gongoli	reddish-black worm
guarapillo	tea, a mixture derived from boiled roots or leaves, a type of medication
guarapo	sugar cane juice
guinea	hen of guinea
guineo	plantain, banana
guingambo	vegetable imported from West Africa
gunda	climbing wild plant
Jurutungo	a faraway place; an old name given to a sector in Hato Rey
mucuenco	a thin, weak, feeble horse
mafaffo, congo, lotuco, malango	varieties of banana
mahingo	big hen or rooster
malagueta	medicinal plant of malagasy origin
malambo	machete in the rural area of Puerto Rico (now obsolete)
malanga	a variety of yuca
mample	illegally-distilled liquor
Mandingas	Blacks from the Mandingas tribes of Western Sudan
mango	a variety of fruit
marimbo	plant that produces a small pumpkin that is used as a container
matungo	wasted, in disuse
mofongo	fried or broiled plantain mashed with salt and bacon

monguera	weakness
motete	bundle; obstruction; nuisance
Mozambique	Black from Mozambique
Nangobaa	Black sect of possible Bantu origin, chaired by a king or queen, in old San Juan in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century
nangotao	in squatting position; a coward or submissive person
nenene	nonsense, foolishness, babyish
noco	with only one arm, maimed
pian	skin illness
guimbambas	a far and remote place

COMMON TERMS

Puerto Rican Common Terms

This section contains words commonly used by Puerto Ricans in the Island and in the United States. Many of these words are not used anywhere else in Spanish-speaking America, others are common to the Spanish language everywhere, but Puerto Rican usage has given them another dimension or significance. Therefore, this glossary only includes words as they are used by Puerto Ricans. For common definitions a regular bilingual dictionary must be consulted.

The spelling of certain words follows pronounciation patterns and not grammatical rules. For example: achantao instead of achantado, etc. This phenomenon is also evident in the vernacular Spanish in the southern parts of Spain and in many other Caribbean Spanish-speaking islands, Central and South America.

acido	disagreeable, unpleasant, said of a person, m. acid, LSD
acomodar	to flatter; to try to make oneself liked by another person
achantao	lazy, slow, unaggressive, without ambition
achantarse	to become stagnant, to lose ambition or drive
achocarse	to get hit in the head
achocazo	sudden blow in the head
achongarse	to become embarrassed; to shy away
administrar	to deceive; to con, swindle; to have illicit sexual relationship with a woman; to enjoy and/or use something not belonging to you
afrentao	fresh, impudent; selfish
agallarse	to get angry, upset; to keep by force something that belongs to someone else
aguaje	gesture, attitude; empty talk or gestures used to impress someone

aquapiringa	refreshing drink; any watered down and tasteless refreshment
ajibararse	to adopt jibaro manners; to be shy in the company of strangers
ajorar	to rush
ajoro	rush
ajumao	drunk; also *rajao*, *guayao*, *picao*
alabao	by God!
alcapurria	fritter made with plantain, yuca or *yautia* and filled with ground meat
alicate	helper, assistant; a very good friend
apestillarse	to hold hands, embrace; get very close together
aprontao	busybody, meddler
arrebatao	in a fit; stoned, freaked-out (with drugs)
arresmillarse	to laugh showing the teeth
asfixiao	very busy
asopao	thick soup made with rice and chicken or seafood; something easy to do or to obtain
atomico	alcoholic, bum; acidhead, drug addict
atrapillao	trapped, blocked, unable to get out
atrapillar	to catch someone in the act of doing something; to uncover a deceit
baboso	babbler; boring, annoying (usually said of a fast talker)
barrilito	short and fat person
bayoya	frivolous conversation, kidding around, joking
bellaco	sexually excited; in heat
bembetear	to talk excessively, to gossip
bendito!	used to indicate pity, sympathy; also: gracious! confound it!
bicho	penis
bienmesabe	dessert made with coconut milk, egg yolks and sugar
blanquito	white, middle-class person
bobo	baby's pacifier
bocabajo	servile, adulator, bootlicker
bocon	loudmouth
bolita	the numbers (illegal gambling)
bolitero	bookie

bomba	blow given with the fist
boquisucio	foul-mouthed
brillo	shoeshine
brujo	curse, spell
bueno	let's see; so long
buscon	hustler
busconear	to hustle, make a living by doing small jobs
cabro	cunning, sly, crafty; sensual; agile
cachipa	coconut bagasse
cajeton	bully, brawler
camaron	police informer; undercover agent
camaroncillo	scorpion
canario	squealer, police informer
cantazo	heavy blow
canto	hunk, piece, slice
canita	low-quality rum, distilled illegally (also pitorro mample, ron cana)
canon	healthy, strong person
canonero	thief addict who robs another addict; person who betrays a friend
capear	to find or buy drugs
carcomillo	itch, restlessness
caricortao	with a scarred face
cariduro	fresh, unabashed, cheeky
carifresco	fresh, bold, shameless, cheeky
caripelao	fresh, bold, shameless, cheeky
carrerita	jiffy, short time
cascara	useless, soiled, worn-out person or thing
cascarazo	heavy blow
casco	something old or useless; coconut husk; crustacean's shell
casquitos de guayaba	dessert made of guava shells and sugar
cayuco	old, obsolete, old-fashioned; of bad quality, ugly
cazuela	dessert made of pumpkin, sweet potatoes, eggs and coconut milk

changueria	monkeyshine, affection
chapa	metal bottle cap
chavar	to annoy, bother; fail
chaveria	coins, small change
chavon	annoying, bothersome
chavos	money, bread
chifle	animal's horn
chilleria	group of noisy children
chillo	street urchin; a variety of fish
china	orange
chiringa	comet, kite
chiripera	flirtatious woman
chischis	a bit, a small quantity
chispo	small child; bit, small piece of amount
chivo	imperfection in a job or thing done; unimportant job; lover, side job
choreto	in quantity, abundant
chorrera	slide (in children's playground)
chota	police informer, squealer
chuchin	good, great, nice, good looking
chupazo	a drag (smoke from a cigarette)
cocopelao	bald, without hair or with shaven head
cogerse	to become used to a place; to get along (two persons)
colgalejo	hanging, anything that hangs
comelata	informal banquet
compartidura	hair part
coneccion	drug pusher
coqui	a small frog; herb root used for medicinal purposes
coquito	dessert made with ground coconut and sugar
corral	playpen
cortar	to cut, to prepare or mix drugs to sell
cosquilleo	restlessness, itch

cotita	small shirt or housecoat
crudo	unprepared, uninformed
cuchiflito	fried entrails; fritters; (also cuchifrito)
cuerda	agrarian measure equal to 4,000 square meters; bag, specialty, field of expertise of a person
cuero	ugly, vulgar woman; prostitute
curarse	to get a fix of heroin
emborujo	imbroglio, confusion, mess
embrollao	debt-ridden
embrollarse	to get into debt
empanada	pie made of yuca or cassava filled with crab or pork meat
empanadilla	small meat or fruit pie
empantalonarse	to get furious
empaparse	to become well informed on a subject
enchismarse	to become angry
enfogonarse	to become very angry
enfuscarse	to become dazzled, confused, infatuated
entriparse	to get soaking wet
envenenao	enraged, furious
escrachao	broke; badly dressed; worn-out, tired
escracharse	to break down; become damaged; to fail
esmandao	quickly, fast, in a hurry
esmandarse	to run
esmayao	hungry; poor; greedy
estilladura	thin crack (in glass, dishes, etc.)
estillarse	to crack (a fragile object)
estrellazo	heavy blow
farfallota	mumps
fatiga	asthma
follon	fit, rage; excessive fondness or enthusiasm
funda	paper bag
gaban	coat (of a man's suit)

gandul	bean, pidgeon pea
gata	prostitute, whore
gavetero	chest of drawers
gomita	rubber band
granoso	said of rice cooked dry and loose
grifo	said of white man with African blood
guayao	drunk (also ajumao, rajao, picao)
guayar	to scratch
guayazo	scratching; scratch (on furniture, etc.)
guindalego	hanging; anything that hangs
guiso	easy thing, easier done than said
huevo	blunder, faux pas
jaiberia	cunning, slyness (especially that of the Puerto Rican peasant)
jaleo	upset stomach
jamon	ham, scrape, difficult situation
jaqueton	bully, brawler
jara	fuzz, police
jincho	pale, pallid, ghastly
jinquetazo	fisticuff, flow with the fist
joder	to copulate; to bother, annoy
jodienda	bother, inconvenience
lambeojo	bootlicker, toady, cringer
lambio	gluttonous, greedy
lechonada	an abundant meal with pork as the main dish
lechonera	shop selling roast pork and other pork meats
levantar	to pick up, seduce, make an amorous conquest
ligar	to glance at something or somebody with feigned disinterest; to peep
maceta	a stingy, miserly, avaricious person
machetear	to cut, reduce drastically
machina	merry-go-round; shuttle bus, usually free of charge

machucazo	pounding, bruising
majarete	dessert made with cornmeal, sugar, milk and cinnamon; confusion, mess
manguera	heavy rainstorm with gales
mantengo	relief, welfare aid
melao	a very sweet person
mogolla	hodgepodge
monga	flu, cold
mongo	loose, lax, weak, lazy
morusa	abundant, uncombed hair
muchitanga	crowd of youngsters
naranja	a variety of sour orange; common orange is called china
nangotao	in a squatting position; bootlicker, coward
noco	with only one arm; maimed
pala	person of influence
palma	a very tall and thin person
pamplon	fat, slow person
panapen	breadfruit
pana	breadfruit; friend, buddy, pal
pantaloncillo	jockey shorts, men's underwear
pantalla	earring
pasao	old, worn-out clothes; rotten
paseo	something easy to do or obtain
pastel	typical Puerto Rican dish made of mashed plantains, potatoes, rum and pork, wrapped in plantain leaves
pastelillo	small meat or fruit pie
paticaliente	restless, roving, always moving from one place to another
pega	glue, rubber cement
pegao	crust of rice remaining on the bottom of the pot
pegarse	to win a prize, to hit the jackpot
peinilla	comb
pelarse	to go broke
perico	cocaine, parakeet

perra	penny, cent, female dog, bitch
pimpo	full, stuffed (especially after a hearty meal
pinche	hair pin
pinon	meat pie made with ground meat and fried ripe plantain
piojo	short person, head lice
pique	hot sauce
piquina	dislike, aversion, ill will
pitiyanqui	perjorative name given to the Puerto Rican who imitates and has a servile attitude toward the Americans
pitorro	low-quality rum, distilled illegally (also canita, mample, ron cana).
pon	a ride (in someone else's car)
prender	to switch on (radio, TV, etc.)
quemarse	to have bought low-quality drugs; to overexpose oneself to public view
rajao	drunk (also ajumao, guayao, paleao, picao)
raspacoco	crewcut, razor cut
raspazo	scratch
rata	police informer, squealer
recao	group of herbs used as seasoning and sold together
recorte	haircut
reguerete	disorder, mess, untidiness
reguero	disorder, mess, untidiness
relajar	to joke, to tease, kid around
relajo	disorder, mix-up; depravity; double-meaning jokes
revolu	hullabaloo, turmoil, disorder, mess
riseria	loud laughter of several persons
sangrigordo	same as sangru
sangru	disagreeable, obnoxious
sorullo	corn fritters
socusumuco	whispering conspiring, gossiping
tapon	traffic jam; a short, chubby person
taquilla	ticket
tembleque	dessert made with cream of coconut, sugar and cornstarch

titere	street urchin
topos	dice
toston	plantain fritter; unpleasant, difficult situation
trinco	stiff, rigid
trulla	group of carolers
vaquero	reckless driver
vellon	nickel, dime
vellonera	juke box
verduras	vegetables
viajar	to trip, to be intoxicated by drugs
yerba	marijuana

POPULAR PHRASES

Puerto Rican Popular Phrases

The Spanish language is extremely rich in idiomatic expressions, phrases, proverbs, etc. In this list, however, we have only included those phrases native to Puerto Rico. Many other phrases used by Puerto Ricans are originally from Spain and used throughout Spanish-speaking America.

achocao de la cabeza	with a terrible headache
apostar pesos a morisquetas	in a discussion, to be very sure of your argument
atracarle a uno las papas	to mistrust someone; beat someone up
bajar de cuadro	to lose stature, to lose prestige
caer como guanabana madura	to fall easily in a trap, be fooled; to fall flat on your backside
caerle mimes a uno	to be pestered
cambiar chinas por botellas	to come out losing in a swap
cara de aguarate	to look Puerto Rican
coger brisa	to escape
coger de oso	to make fun of somebody
coger fiado	to buy on credit; to have sexual relations before marriage
cogerla con alguien	to pick on someone
cogida de cuello	scolding, reprimand
comer arroz con perico	to talk too much
comer jobos	to play hooky
comer pavo	to suffer a deception; to be deceived

con el mono parao	with ill humor, angry
correr la maquina	to make a fool out of someone, to tease
dar riversa	to go back; to recant
darle a uno un corte	to give a hint, to give advice
darle a uno un toque	to remind someone (of something); to recommend
darse puesto	to brag, give oneself airs
del tingo al tango	to and fro, hither and thither
de cachete	free, gratis
de cajon	surely (eso es de cajon - that's a sure thing)
dispararse una maroma	to risk something, tell a lie
edad del pavo	adolescence
el que no tiene dinga, tiene mandinga	refrain meaning that most everyone has some African blood in them
estar en algo	to be on the stuff (drugs); to be "in"
estar en las papas	to be prosperous, comfortable
estar en un gas	to be broke, penniless
estar por el libro o por la maceta	to be find, look good
estar fu	to be useless or worthless
ganar de calle	to win easily (in a match or contest)
hacer brusca (cortar clase)	to play hooky
hacer el dano (romperle el plato)	to deflower (a virgin woman) break her plate (deflower)
haciendose y gustandole	used to refer to a person who makes believe to be indifferent to something but really likes it
(dar) mal de ojo	to give the evil eye
meter las patas	to put one's foot in it, to make a mistake
meterse un cantazo	to get a fix of heroin or take a drink
no comer cuentos	to go straight to the point
no dar un tajo	to loaf, to avoid working
no pegar una	to fail, not to hit the mark
pasar el macho (relajar, relajo)	to pass time in a rowdy manner, or making fun of someone
pegar uno a cualquier cosa	to be ready and willing to do any kind of job
por la izquierda	outside the law or morality

salir por el techo	to backfire, to fail
ser como el arroz blanco	to be present everywhere, especially at social events; to be plain, undecorative
ser la changa	to be a stubborn, annoying person; to be impish
ser punto fijo	to be punctual
ser la hostia	to be bothersome, pesty; to be "too much," extravagant
tener a uno en un patin	to rush, to work under pressure, to be head over heals
tener la mancha del platano	to have been born in Puerto Rico or of Black, African ancestry
tener uno raja (o su rajita)	to have some African blood in oneself
tirar el ojo (a alguien) (pegarle el ojo)	to eye, to ogle, to try to make an amorous conquest

TERMS OF MIXED ORIGIN

Terms of Mixed Linguistic Origin

Span-English is the new term which could be used to describe the linguistic phenomenon of the intermingling of English and Spanish.

Span-English is common to any group of people working and living in a bilingual cultural setting. In this case, it is the adaptation of English words to Spanish grammatical and phonetic forms, and/or the use of English words in Spanish sentences. This phenomenon is also exhibited by the Mexican-American's development of "pachuco" dialect.

This does not mean that this is a new language in the making; it is simply a jargon used by a number of people with a linguistic common denominator.

In the Span-English used by all the Spanish-speaking peoples of New York, words such as "nice," "ready," "size," "building," and "porter," are commonly used, but the pronounciation and spelling do not change to fit Spanish linguistic forms. Therefore, these words have not been included in this glossary.

Other words in this list sound perfectly Spanish, but actually are adaptations of English words. For example, descualificar and relevancia do not exist in Spanish. Others, such as soportar and blanco exist in Spanish but have a different meaning than that given in Span-English.

Many of these terms are used in Puerto Rico as well as in the United States.

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
aplicacion	application	solicitud, formulario
aplicar	to apply	solicitar
bai bai	bye, bye	adios, hasta luego
baquear	to back	apoyar
beibito	baby	bebito

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
biutichan	beautician	embellecedora, peluquera
blanco	blank form	formulario
blanqueta	blanket	frazada, colcha
blofero	bluffer, boaster	fanfarron
boila	boiler	caldera de vapor
bonche	bunch	haz, racimo, manojo
bordante	boarder	huesped
bosa	boss (female)	jefa, patrona
bos	boss (male)	jefe, patron
broque	broke	sin dinero, sin blanca
braun	brown	color cafe, color canela
caque	cake	bizcocho
carpeta	carpet, rug, floor covering	alfombra
caucho	couch	sofa, canape
ciodi	C.O.D.	a cobrar a la entrega
clerical	clerical, of the office	de oficina (esp. labores)
colector	collector	cobrador
controversial	controversial	polemico, contencioso
cou	coat	abrigo, sobretodo
craca	cracker	galleta
craquearse	to crack up (esp. to go crazy); to burst out laughing	enloquecer; desternillarse desternillarse de la risa
cualificar	to qualify	estar capicitado, llenar los requisitos
culear	to cool	refrescar, enfriar
cuora	quarter (25 cents)	peseta de 25 centavos
cuarto furnido	furnished room	cuarto amueblado
cubrir	to cover (an event, etc., by a reporter)	reportar

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
chansa	chance	oportunidad
chequear	to check	verificar
chipe	cheap	barato
chou	show	funcion, espectaculo
chopinbag	shopping bag	bolsa
dar complein	to complain	quejarse, dar quejas
descualificar	to disqualify	no llenar los requisitos, descalificar
despose	dispossessed	deshauciado
detrimental	detrimental	perjudicial
domestico	domestic	del pais
dropear	to drop	caer, dejar caer
escrachao	scratched	aranado, rayado, rasgunado
estin	steam	vapor, calefaccion
estinji	steam heat	calefaccion a vapor
estofa	stuff (drugs)	heroina; droga
felony	felony	delito grave
forleidi	forelady	supervisors (esp. de un departamento en una fabrica)
forman	foreman	capataz, supervisor
frisa	blanket	frazada, colcha
frisar	to freeze	helar, congelar
funirun	furnished room	cuarro amueblado
furnido	furnished	amueblado
furnitura	furniture	mobiliario, muebles
ganga	gang	pandilla, cuadrilla
groseria	grocery store	tienda de viveres, colmado
guachiman	watchman	sereno, vigilante
guachiar	to watch	vigilar, observar
gufear	to goof (loaf)	bobear, embromar

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
indentar	to indent	sangrar, empezar un renglon mas adentro que los demas
irrelevante	irrelevant	ajeuno a un asunto, fuera de lugar, que no viene al caso
jai	high	estar intoxicado con drogas o alcohol
jol	hall	vestibulo, pasillo
jolope	hold up	asalto, robo, atraco
juqueao	hooked	adicto (esp. a las drogas)
kikear	to get a kick (fun, pleasure); to kick drugs	hallar placer, disfrutar dejar elvicio rehabilitarse
liquiar	to leak	gotear
londri	laundry	lavanderia
lonchar	to lunch	almorzar, merendar
llamar para atras	to call back	contestar la llamada
machear	to match	combinar
mapear	to mop	limpiar el piso, balletear
mapo	mop	trapeador, balleta, aljofifa
marqueta	market	mercado
misdeminor	misdemeanor	delito o falta menor
moron	moron	tonto, idiota, retrasado mental
norsa	nurse	enfermera
paipa	pipe	tubo, tuberia
papel	paper (written report for school)	composicion, informe, rabajo, monografia
pari	party	fiesta
parquear	to park	estacionar
piquel	pickled cucumber	pepino encurtido
pisuel	piece work	
pompa	pump, hydrant	boca de riego, toma de agua para incendios

Span-English Term	English	Spanish
ponchar	to punch (esp. time card)	marcar
prejuiciado	prejudiced	predispuesto, parcial
quicheneta	kitchenette	cocina pequena
raque	racket (fraudulent enterprise)	negocio fraudulento
realizar	to realize	comprender, darse cuenta
registrar	register	matricularse, inscribirse
relativo	relative (family)	pariente
relevancia	relevance	pertinencia, relacion
relevante	relevant	pertinente, apropiado, que viene al caso, a proposito
reversa	reverse (automobile gear)	retroceso, contramarcha marcha atras
rilif	relief (welfare)	socorro o asistencia publica
rufo	roof	azotez, techo
safacon	safety can (waste basket)	lata de basura
siro	syrup	jarabe, almibar
sobueyes	subways	trenes subterraneos
soportar	to support	sostener, mantener
suera	sweater	abrigo de punto, sueter, jersey
super	superintendent	encargado (esp. de un edificio de apts.)
tique	ticket	boleto, billete
tofe	tough (adjt)	fuerte, corajudo, de pelo en pecho, macho
tofete	tough (noun)	persona fuerte, musculosa bully, big-mouth
toquear	to talk	hablar, charlar
tracas	tracks	rieles
vacunear	to vacuum	pasar la aspiradora
yen	Gem, razor blade's trademark	hoja o cuchilla de afeitar

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Span-English Term	English	Spanish
yarda	yard, backyard	patio
yobe	job	empleo, trabajo, tarea

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